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## THE BIRTH OF MANKIND OR THE WOMAN'S BOOK

### A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

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URING the Tudor period the medical profession in England showed an eager desire to improve both their knowledge and their social position. The physicians established a College in 1518: the surgeons united themselves a generation later with the barbers practising surgery—who were the general practitioners of the time—and this United Company of Barber-Surgeons grafted lectures and examinations upon the old system of apprenticeship. Some surgeons, like Vicary and Read, printed manuscripts which had been text-books more than a century before their time; others, like Gale and Clowes, published the fruits of their professional experience in the mother tongue, to the scandal of the older generation who preferred to write in Latin. A few looked abroad for fresh knowledge and amongst them was Richard Jonas, who did for midwifery what the surgeons were doing for surgery. Nothing is now known of Richard Jonas except that he was 'a diligent and studious clarke' who taught the *De partu hominis* or the Latin translation of Eucharius Rösslin's *Rosengarten*, to speak English, in the year 1540.

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Bibliographical Society, 17 January. 1927.

## 2     *The Birth of Mankind or The Woman's Book*

The *Rosengarten* began its long life at Worms, where on 24 September 1513 the Emperor Maximilian granted it a copyright. The book was written by Eucharius Rösslin, the Stadtartz or City Physician of Worms, and was called *Der Swangern frauwen und Hebammen Roszgarten*. It was dedicated to Katherine, Duchess of Brunswick and Lüneburg, and was an illustrated manual of midwifery compiled from somewhat ancient sources, for it contains little that is original. It was written in an easy style and proved an immediate success. It seems to have been first printed at Strasburg and was reissued twice in 1513, once, perhaps, from Strasburg and once from Hagenau. It was certainly reprinted at Strasburg in 1522, 1524, and 1528; at Augsburg in 1524, 1528, 1544, and 1551; at Erfurt in 1529; and at Frankfort in 1561 and 1568. It was translated into Dutch in 1516; into the Czech language in 1519; and into French in 1536. Doctors, as well as midwives, found it useful, and it was translated into Latin with the title *De partu hominis* and published by Christian Egenolph at Frankfort in 1532. The Latin version was reprinted at Paris in 1536, at Venice in 1537, and it was translated into English in 1540.

1540.—This first English translation appeared in 1540 with the title *The Byrth of Mankynde newly translated out of laten into Englysshe*. By some happy accident the original manuscript appears to be still in existence. Mr. T. J. Pettigrew,<sup>1</sup> writing between 1837 and 1840, says: 'It may not be unacceptable to the reader to have, in this place, some account of the earliest known work in the English language upon midwifery; the original manuscript of which presented by the translator (for it is a foreign work) to Katherine, Queen of Henry VIII, is in the possession of the writer of this memoir. . . . The date of the MS. must be about the year

<sup>1</sup> The Medical Portrait Gallery, *Memoir of Sir Charles Mansfield Clarke, Bart.*

1540.' Mr. Pettigrew obtained it at the sale of the library of Dr. Charles Combe, who died in 1817; after the death of Mr. Pettigrew in 1865 Mr. H. M. Barlow, the Secretary of the Royal College of Physicians, tells me that it was sold at Sotheby's and was bought by Mr. Leighton, the second-hand bookseller. It is probably now in a private library, as the British Museum, the Bodleian, the University Library at Cambridge, the John Rylands Library at Manchester, and the Hunterian Library at Glasgow do not contain it.

The first printed edition (Fig. 1) is a small quarto of 88 folios and is a simple translation of the *De partu hominis*. It is dedicated to Queen Katherine of England just as the first edition of the *Swangern Frawen* was dedicated to Princess Katherine of Saxony. The dedication is offered by Richard Jonas, who 'wyssheth perpetuall ioye and felicyte unto the 'most gracious | and in all goodnesse most excellent vertuous 'Lady Quene Katheryne | wyfe and most derely belouyd 'spouse vnto the moste myghty sapient Christen prynce | 'Kynge Henry the .viii.'

The book must have appeared therefore in the autumn of 1540 or in the spring of 1540/1, because Henry did not marry Katherine Howard until July 1540. Nevertheless there are two issues in this year, which are identical, except for the title-page. One (Fig. 1) has '¶ Cum priuilegio Regali, ad imprimendum solum' at the bottom of the page; the other makes no mention of any privilege. The two issues have been printed from the same type, which has not been distributed in the interval, for there are the same irregularities in the spacing, the same faulty letters, and the same erroneous pagination in each. The birth figures are present, but there are no anatomical plates. The copies without the privilege are probably earlier than those with it, and as in the case of the two issues of the 1598 edition a new title-page had to be printed to rectify the omission.

The title-page is of extreme interest (Fig. 1). The ornament

#### 4 *The Birth of Mankind or The Woman's Book*

consists of four separate panels. The two side ones are not similar, that on the dexter side contains two small animals, that on the sinister side is a floral decoration ending in a burning censer. The lower panel represents a duel of monkeys, armed with a broom and a pitchfork, mounted on lambs. The real interest of the title-page lies in the top panel. It consists of a rose and cable ornament with an empty shield in the centre. In both issues of the 1540 edition there is an upper line of ornamentation. An ornament of this nature was used by Wynkyn de Worde in 1521. The shield has his device and below it is a head. A similar panel was used by Henry Pepwell in the same year, but it has been altered for him, as the shield is longer and of a shape adapted to contain his device.

McKerrow (*Printers and Publishers' Devices*, No. 48) says that de Worde's ornament was perhaps passed to Peter Treveris, who was printing from 1521 to 1532, and it was also used by John Scott. This border was also used by Nicholas Bourman and, as is now seen, by Thomas Raynold. In the 1540 edition of *The Birth of Mankind or the Woman's Book* the border has been altered from that used by Henry Pepwell and John Scott. The lower part of the shield has been cut away, removing Pepwell's mark, and the whole panel has been turned upside down so that Pepwell's lower border has now become the upper border.

The initial letter *W* at the head of the dedication to the Queen (Fig. 2) is a fine specimen of wood-block engraving. It is used again in the 1560 edition, folio xlv v.

1545.—A new edition of the book appeared in 1545. It consists of 148 numbered folios, though the actual number of leaves is 161, the increase in size being due to a complete recasting of the work, with a long Prologue by Thomas Raynold, Phisition<sup>1</sup> (see pp. 31-4). This edition is illustrated by

<sup>1</sup> *The Byrth of Mankynde : its author, editions and contents.* By J. W. Ballantyne, M.D. Lond.: Sharratt and Hughes, pp. 309-11.



the birth figures and by two copperplates, which may have been those that were in the possession of Thomas Raynold five years earlier (p. 33). One of the plates is that of a man and the other might, to a superficial observer, be looked upon as that of a woman. The writer of the Prologue—Thomas Raynold himself—recognizes that they are valueless as illustrating the text, but, being quite shameless, gives a free translation of their description from the Latin version of Geminus's *Anatomy*<sup>1</sup> which had just been published, merely saying that what is true of the male is equally true of the female, an obviously incorrect statement when speaking of the abdomen, with which alone the book is concerned.

The title-page (Fig. 3) is ornamented with six separate panels, which are much less elaborate than those in the 1540 edition. The dedication to the Queen is not repeated. The Prologue (Fig. 4) begins with a large initial *H* in a border, a royal crowned head being in the lower compartment and a crowned Tudor Rose in the upper.

I need not dwell upon the history of the birth figures or of the anatomical plates which illustrate this and every subsequent issue of the *Birth of Mankind*. Dr. Ingerslev of Copenhagen has traced the history of the birth figures,<sup>2</sup> and Dr. LeRoy Crummer of Omaha has shown<sup>3</sup> the relationship of the anatomical plates to Vesalius and Geminus. It is enough to say that the birth figures can be traced back to Muscio's Latin version of Soranus' treatise on midwifery, which was written about the first century A.D. In the *De partu hominis*, from which the *Birth of Mankind* was translated, the birth

<sup>1</sup> *Compendiosa totius Anatomie delineatio aere exarata per Thomam Geminum*. Londini in officina Ioanni Herfordie 1545.

<sup>2</sup> *The Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology of the British Empire*, 1909- , vol. 15, pp. 1 and 73.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*. Section of the History of Medicine. 1926, vol. 20, pp. 53-6.



# **[T]he byrth of Mankynde/newly transla ted out of Laten into Englyshe.**

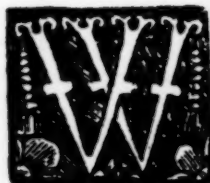
In the which is entreated of all  
suche thynges the which chaunce  
to women in theyr laboꝝ, and all  
suche infyrmities whiche happen  
vnto the Infantes after they be  
delyuered. And also at the latter  
ende oꝝ in the thyꝛde oꝝ last boke  
is entreated of the Conception  
of mankynde, and howe manye  
wayes it may be letted oꝝ furthe  
ryd, with diuers other fruytfull  
thynges, as doth appere in the  
table befoꝛe the booke.

**[C]um priuilegio Regali, ad impri  
mendum solum.**

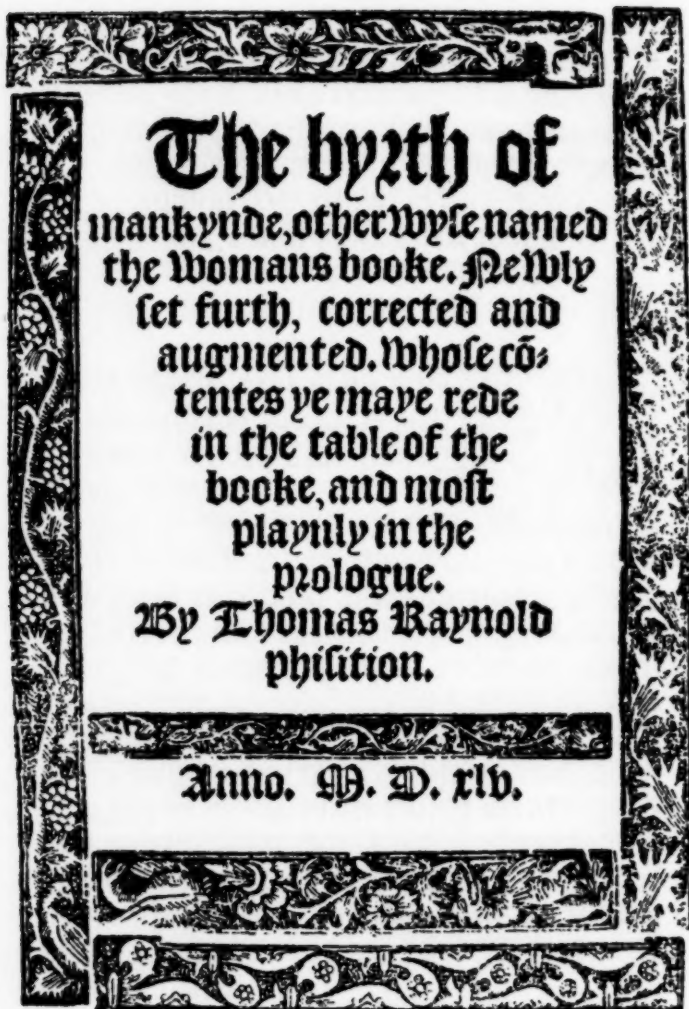


1. Title-page of the First Edition, 1540.

¶ Vnto the most gracious / and in all good-  
 nesse most excellent vertuous Lady Quene  
 Katheryne / wyfe and most derely belo-  
 uyd sponse vnto the moste myghty  
 sapient Christen prynce / kynge  
 Henry the. viii. Richard 3o.  
 nas wyssheth perpetuall  
 ioye and felicitye.



Where as of late (moste excel-  
 lent vertuous Quene) many  
 goodly and proper treatyse/  
 as well concernynge holye  
 scripture / wherein is contey-  
 ned the onely comforte and consolaciō of all  
 godlye people: as other prophane artes and  
 sciences ryght necessary to be knowen & had  
 in vse / haue ben by the paynefull dyligence  
 of suche clarkes which haue embusyed them  
 in the same very earnestlye and circumspect-  
 lye set forth in this oure wulgate Englyshe  
 tunge / to the greate enryptchyng of our mo-  
 ther langage / and also the greate vtilite and  
 profet of all people vsynge the same / and a-  
 myonge all other thynges / oute of the noble  
 scyence of phisike haue ben dyners / proper /  
 .AB.ij. and



3. Title-page of the Second Edition.

**A** Prologue to the women  
readers.



Ere, in the begyn-  
nyng of this pre-  
sent Prologue, I  
Wyl folowe the ex-  
emple of theym,  
Whiche When they  
bydde any gesses to dyner or soup-  
per, are Wunt first to declare, What  
shal be theyr cheere: What fare, and  
how many dysshes they shal haue:  
prayenge them to take it in good  
Wourth, & to loke for neyther bet-  
ter ne Wourse then hath ben men-  
cioned of: And euen so here Wyl I  
do. Before y<sup>e</sup> enter into the rea-  
dyng of this lyttell treatise, I shall  
succinctly and in felwe Wurdres re-  
cyte the summe and cheife conten-  
tes of the same, With the vtilite &  
proffet Whiche maye ensue, to the  
**B** Dyl:

The entent  
of thaucto.

figures are badly executed woodcuts scattered through the text; in this, as in the 1540 edition, the scattered woodcuts have been collected together, have been slightly enlarged, and have been redrawn upon four copper plates, the individual figures being numbered 1 to 17. Ten of the figures have been reversed in the process. The special interest of the birth figures is that they are amongst the earliest copperplates to be printed in England by a roller press.

The two anatomical plates are derived from the great text-book of Anatomy published by Andreas Vesalius in 1543, where they appear in the fifth book as figures 1 and 2. In the copy of the *Woman's Book* dated 1545 in the possession of the Royal College of Physicians of London, these two figures are not identical either with Vesalius or with Geminus. They are reduced in size and the shading is different from the figures in Vesalius, whilst figure 1 in the Geminus is reversed in the *Birth of Mankind*, and is therefore as it is in Vesalius. It looks, therefore, as if the two figures in the *Woman's Book* may have been trial plates drawn on a smaller scale than that which Vesalius afterwards adopted.

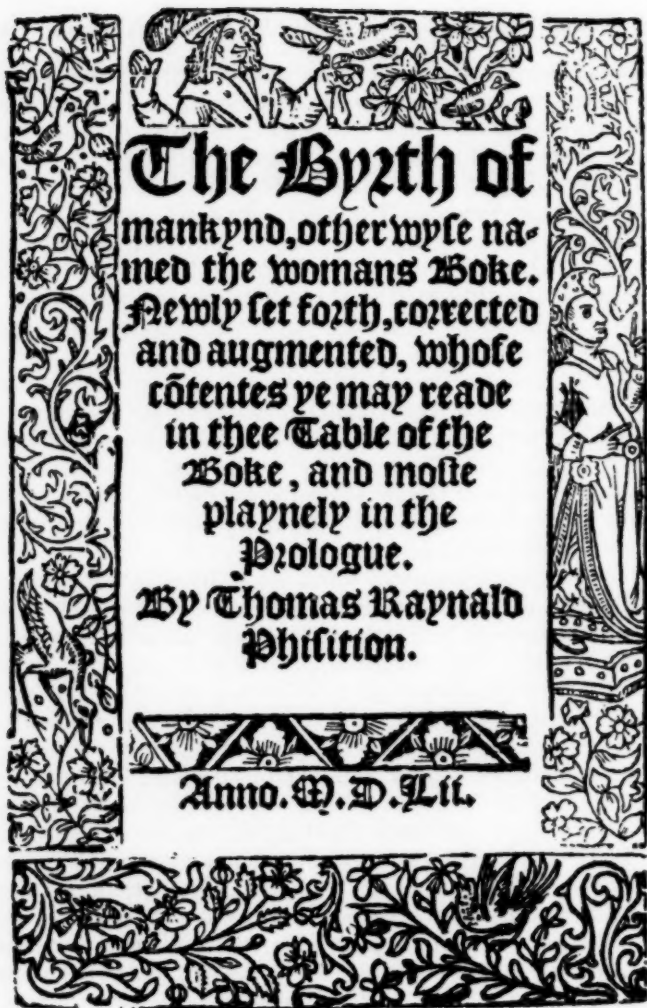
1552.—A fresh edition of the *Birth of Mankind* was published in 1552 and again with the name of Thomas Raynald. It consists of 149 folios and contains the birth figures printed from the copperplates which had appeared in the 1540 and 1545 issues. Some copies have the two anatomical plates which have already been mentioned; others have blank pages, and upon these blank pages are pasted the appropriate figures out of the Latin edition of Geminus's *Anatomy*. Seven anatomical plates have been cut up which contain the eight figures described in the 1545 edition. These anatomical figures, as in the 1545 edition, are described by a free translation of the Latin text of Geminus, so that the English version of his *Compendium of Anatomy* had not yet appeared when the 1552 edition of the *Birth of Mankind* was being prepared for the press.

The title-page of the 1552 edition consists of five panels (Fig. 5), the upper one shows a man hawking and a small bird at the base of a tree; the lower panel is floriated, with two birds pecking at the flowers. A stork is pecking a flower on the dexter side and on the sinister side is a midwife with outstretched index fingers. The stork, of course, is in reference to the conventional manner in which newly born babies are brought to their mothers. The letter *H* (Fig. 6) at the beginning of the Prologue is a small ornamental block in a border. This edition, like the three previous issues, comes from the press of Thomas Raynold.

1560.—Thomas Raynold either retired from business or died about the year 1557, and the property of the *Birth of Mankind* then came into the hands of Richard Jugge and John Cawood, the Queen's Printers (see pp. 34 and 35). Richard Jugge did much to advance the art of printing at the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth and was renowned for the beauty of his ornamental capital letters.

The subsequent history of the *Birth of Mankind* is bound up with Jugge and Cawood and their lineal successors. The firm does not seem at first to have appreciated the selling value of the book, as the 1560 edition is printed on poor paper and is cheaply got-up in comparison with subsequent issues. It consists of 131 numbered folios and in some copies the anatomical figures are cut out from the much-worn plates of Geminus's *Anatomy*, whilst in other copies the figures have been printed from the plates themselves. The description in the text is taken word for word from the English version of Geminus. The birth figures have been redrawn, and in doing so 'The Birth Stool', Figs. 1 and 11, 8 and 12, have been reversed. Figs. 3 and 7, 13 to 16 remain as they were in the 1545 and 1552 editions. The title-page (Fig. 7) consists of a simple three-line border and at the foot a roughly executed panel (disfigured in the only available copy by an ugly smudge)





5. Title-page of the Third Edition.

# CA Prologe to the

women Readers.

**H**ere in thee beginninge of  
this presente Prologue, I  
wyl folowe the example of  
theym, whych when they  
byd any gesses to dyner or soupper,  
are wont fyrst to declare, what shal  
be theyr chere: what fare, and howe  
many dyshes they shal haue: pray-  
inge them to take it in good worth,  
and too looke for neyther better ne  
worse then hath ben mencioned of:  
And euen so here wyl I do. Before  
that ye entre into thee readinge of  
thys lytle treatyse, I shal succinctly  
& in fewe wordes recyte the summe  
and chiefe Contentes of thee same,  
wth the vtyllite and profyt which  
maye ensue, to the dyligent and at-  
tentive ouerreader therof: to thende  
that ye of these thinges beyng first  
well

The ement  
of the author

**The Byrth of**  
**mankynde, otherwyse na-**  
**med the womans**  
**Booke.**

**Newly set forth, corrected, and**  
**augmented: whose contentes ye**  
**may reade in the Table of the**  
**Booke, and most playne-**  
**ly in the Pro-**  
**logue.**

**By Thomas Raynalde**  
**Physition.**

**1 5 60.**



7. Title-page of the 1560 Edition.

# A Prologue to the Women readers.

**H**ere in the beginning of this present  
Prologue, I wil folowe the example  
of theym, whiche when they bid any  
gesses to dyner or supper, are wonte  
firste to declare, what shall be theyz  
chere: what fare, and howe manye dyshes they  
shall haue: prayinge them to take it in good  
worth, and to loke for neyther better ne worse  
then hath ben mencioned of: And euen so here  
wil I do. Before that ye enter into the reading  
of this litle treatise, I shal succinctly and in few  
wordes recyte the summe and chiefe contentes  
of the same, with the vtilitie and profyt which  
maye ensue, to the diligent and attentise ouer-  
reader therof: to theend that ye of these thinges  
beyng first well aduertised, may haue the more  
or lesse courage to employ your labour in ouer-  
loking and perusing of the same. For common-  
ly it doeth occasionate any man to be the more  
prompt, ready, and willing to take paine, when  
he is assured or certified of the profyt, purpose,  
and fruite therof comminge: and likewise it is  
a great pricke or allurement, entising and me-  
uuing a man, to reade any booke, when he is som-  
what first admonished of the matters compre-  
hended and contayned therein.

The en-  
tent of  
thauour.

Wherefore nowe to come to our purpose, ye  
shall vnderstande that aboute a thre or four  
B. i. yeres

The more  
parte of

containing a bird. The initial letter *H* on *Bi* (Fig. 8) is an ornamental block without a border, like those which Jugge was using in his other books, whilst the capital *W* on folio *xi v.* is printed from the block used in folio *vi* of the 1540 edition.

[1560?-1565?].—It does not seem possible to place accurately the numerous issues of the *Woman's Book* which appeared between the years 1560 and 1565, if indeed they were really issued at this time. They are all undated. Three are assigned to the year 1564 and three to 1565, as they are catalogued in the various libraries, but the individual copies differ from each other in type, spelling, and initial-letter blocks, so that they were probably reset many times. One of these (Fig. 9) bears the Royal Arms on the title-page, and was thus printed after Jugge was appointed Printer to Queen Elizabeth in 1560. The title-page has a continuous decorative border, with the Royal Arms surrounded by the Garter in the middle of the upper compartment. Cupid holding the letter *R* is on the dexter side of the lower compartment and on the sinister side is a nightingale on the top of a bush singing *Jug, Jug*, in allusion to Richard Jugge, who used these blocks as his rebus. There are scroll borders at the sides with a cherub in the centre of each. At the foot the block is cracked and the line border worn away. The date, therefore, is more likely to be after 1575 than 'about 1565' as is usually stated. McKerrow states that this ornamental border was used by Jugge in 1575, and that the block passed afterwards to Richard Watkins who used it in 1591, and to Thomas Adams who printed with it in 1601. It appears as No. 181 in the *Printers and Publishers' Devices*.

This edition consists of 131 numbered folios. There are twenty-five lines of the larger type to the page and thirty-one lines of the smaller type used for descriptions of the figures. The length of the line is three and three-eighths of an inch. The initial letter *H* (Fig. 10) at the beginning of the Prologue

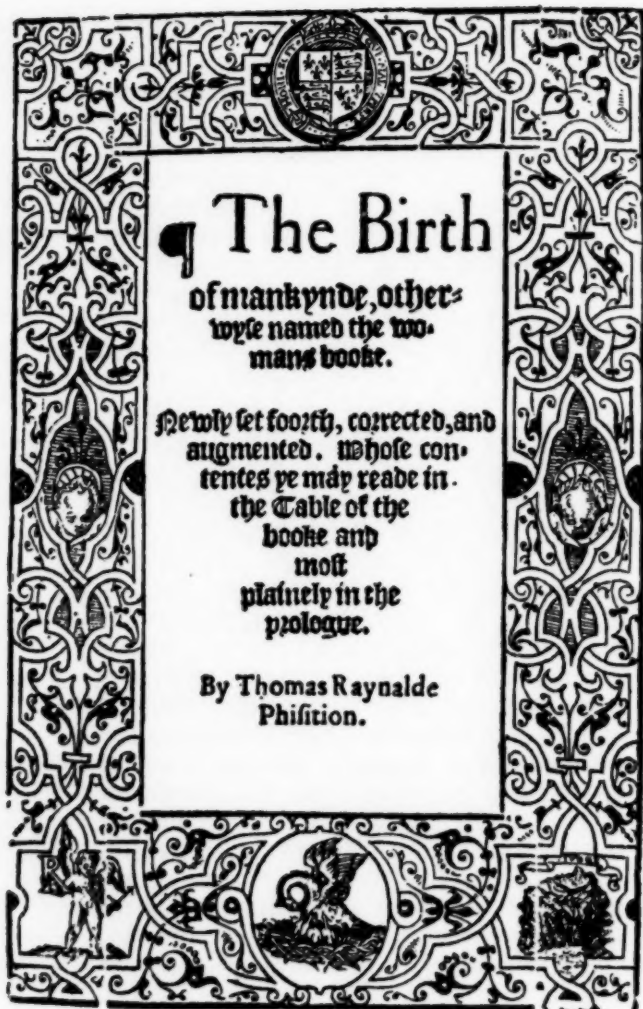
is a very fine block, which is not enclosed in a border. It has a human face in the upper compartment and a mask in the lower one. *Finis* is printed on folio cxxxi and below the word is Jugge's device of a pelican in her piety, with his cipher beneath it and a supporter on each side. McKerrow reproduces the block as No. 123. The symbol ¶ (Fig. 1) precedes many of the sectional headings, most of which are in black-letter. This symbol ¶ which occurred on the title-page of the 1540 and 1560 editions is now replaced by ¶ (Fig. 9).

Some copies of this edition have different ornamental letters from others and some have additional ones, and some have simple roman capitals, but the title-page remains the same in all. The type has been reset, and it may well be that the copies with additional blocks are later issues than those in which there are only roman capital letters.

1565.—There are two editions bearing the date 1565 :

(A) The title-page (Fig. 11) has an ornamental border made up of four separate panels. Each panel is floriated, the separate sprays being ligatured by little rings or bands. There is a circle in the middle of the lower panel with the letters *R. I.* in roman capitals in the centre and the motto 'Omnia Desuper' round the circumference. *R. I.* are the initials of Richard Jugge, and the motto is one that he often used. The sectional headings are in black-letter and are preceded by the symbol ¶ although there is ¶ on the title-page. The page has only twenty-four lines of large type, though there are thirty-two lines of the smaller type. Each line measures three and a quarter inches in length. Many of the old worn blocks have been replaced by more elaborate ones of the Andreas Wechel type (see p. 34).

*Finis* is again on folio cxxxi, which has the same device as in the undated edition with the Royal Arms on the title-page (Fig. 9), but the block is larger, the spelling differs, and the date 1565 has been added below the word *Finis*.



9. Title-page of Jugge's 'Royal Arms' Edition.



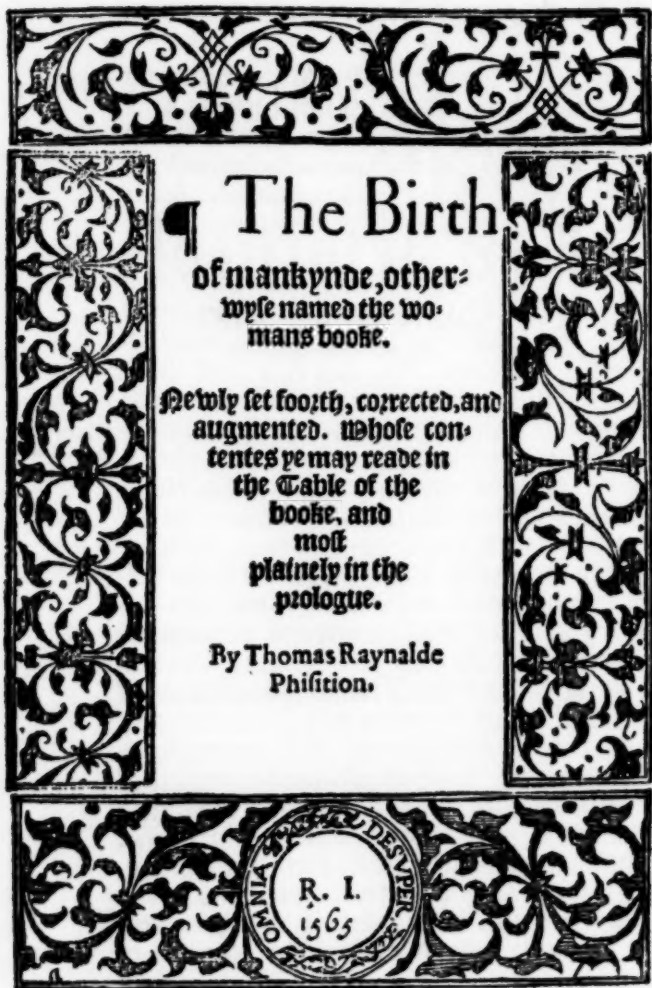
## A Prologue to the women readers.



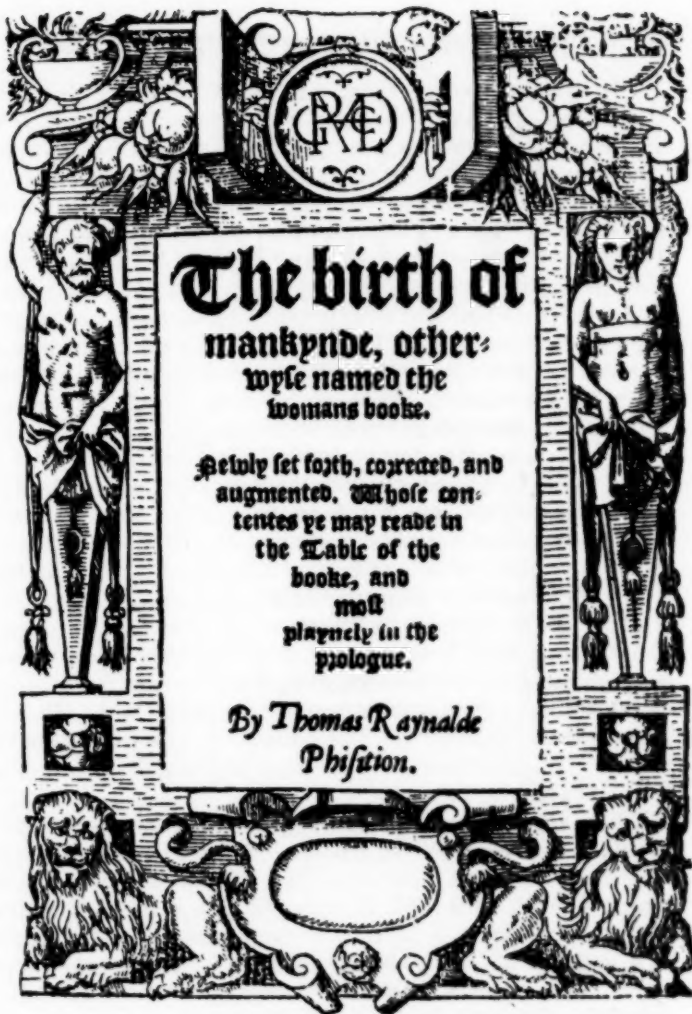
Ere in the beginning  
 of this presente Pro-  
 logue, I wil folow the  
 example of them, whi-  
 che when they bid any  
 ghestes to dynner or  
 supper, are wont fyrst  
 to declare what shall  
 be their cheare, what  
 fare, & how many dy-  
 ners they shall haue,  
 praying the to take it in good woorth, & to looke  
 for neither better ne worse then hath been men-  
 tioned of: And even so here wyl I doo. Before  
 that ye enter into the readyng of this little trea-  
 tise, I shall succinctly & in few wordes resite the  
 summe & cheefe contentes of the same, with the  
 vtilitie and profite which may ensue to the dili-  
 gent and attentife ouerreader thereof, to the end  
 that ye of these thynges beyng fyrst wel aduertis-  
 ed, may haue the more or lesse courage to em-  
 ploy your labour in ouerloking and perusing of  
 the same. for commonly it doth occasionate any  
 man to be the more prompt, redy, and wyllyng  
 to take payne, when he is assured or certified of  
 the profite, purpose, and fruite therof comming:  
 and lyke wyse it is a great pricke or allurement,  
 entising and mouing a man to reade any booke,  
 when he is somewhat fyrst admonished of the  
 matters comprehended and contayned therein.

The content of  
 the Auctour.

wherefore nowe to come to our purpose, ye  
 B. i. shall



11. Title-page of Jugge's 'R. I.' Edition, 1565.



12. Title-page of Jugge's 'cipher' Edition.

22    *The Birth of Mankind or The Woman's Book*

(B) The title-page (Fig. 12) has a complete four-sided ornamental border with Jugge's cipher in the centre at the top, whilst there is an empty cartouche guarded by two lions couchant in the middle of the lower border. A male and female terminus occupy the sides. McKerrow figures this title-page as No. 134 and says that it was used by Seres in 1561, by Jugge in 1563, and by Richard Watkins in 1572. The sectional headings are in roman type, but the symbol ¶ is still used. There are twenty-five lines of the larger type to the page and thirty-one lines of the smaller type. The initial letters are for the most part larger and more ornamental than in the earlier editions, but many of the old blocks are used and the type has been reset.

There is a bewildering variety of ornamental letters in the different copies of the 1564 (?) and 1565 (?) issues of the book as they are preserved in the different public libraries. Hardly any two of them are alike, and, as has already been said, it seems impossible to determine the order in which the different issues appeared even when the date is the same.

1598.—The subsequent history of the *Birth of Mankind or the Woman's Book* is uneventful, but it is interesting because it maintained a definite relationship to the families of Jugge and Cawood. John Cawood (see p. 35) died in 1572; Richard Jugge (see p. 34) in 1577. The edition of 1598 was printed by Richard Watkins (see p. 35), who had married Katherine, Jugge's daughter, in 1569.

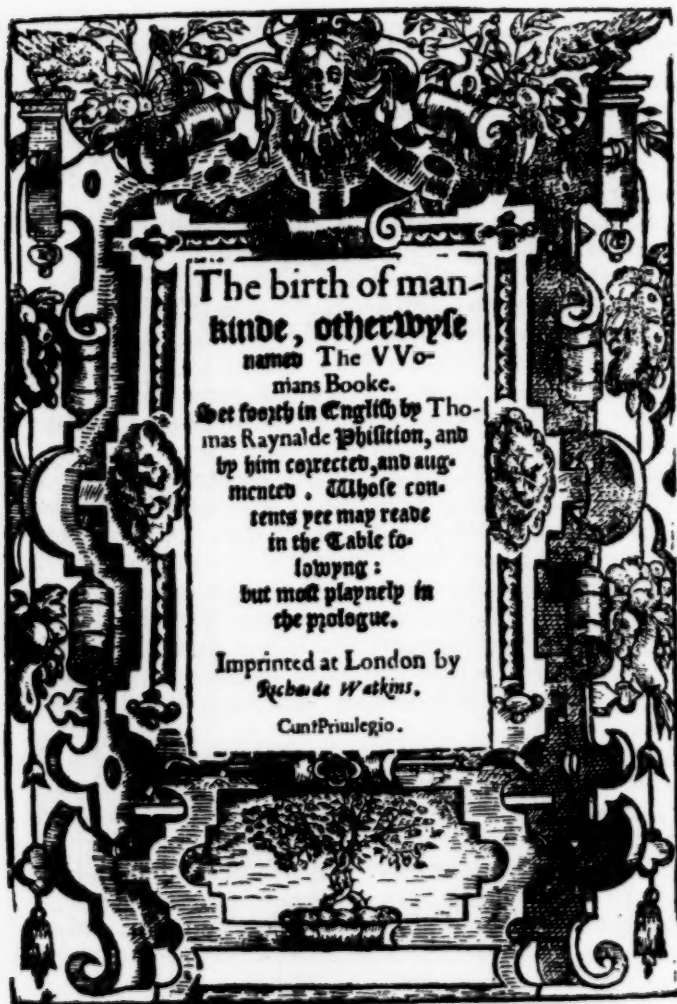
There are two issues of the 1598 edition, one 'cum privilegio', as is stated on the title-page (Fig. 13), and the other without mention of any copyright. The two are identical except for the additional line on the title-page. The title-page has a heavy and elaborately decorated four-sided border in a single piece, with an angel's head in the centre of the upper border and a mask in the centre of each side. In a cartouche at the bottom is a nightingale in a thornbush.

McKerrow reproduces this title-page as No. 182 and says that it was probably passed to Richard Watkins in 1579. At any rate it was used by Watkins in 1579 and 1591, passed to Thomas Dawson or William White, and used by Thomas Adams in 1610. It is possible, therefore, that Thomas Dawson was the printer of the 1604 and 1613 editions of *The Birth of Mankind*. The 1598 edition consists of 204 numbered pages. The initial letters are partly floriated; partly allegorical, e.g. a mermaid, the sacrifice of a goat, two caryatides issuing from cornucopias. On page 71 the initial letter *W* contains a hare, often called a wat, which was Watkins's play on his own name. Some of the blocks are new, but many had appeared in previous editions. The headings of the chapters are printed in roman type, which is also freely used in the text.

1604.—This edition was printed for Thomas Adams (p. 35), who was apprenticed to George Bishop. George Bishop married the eldest daughter of John Cawood, whose copyrights were transferred to Thomas Adams in 1611. The 1604 edition has a title-page which is identical as regards its borders with that of 1598. It contains 204 numbered pages in similar type to that of the 1598 edition but not identical with it. Many of the blocks from which the initial letters are printed are identical, others are different and represent animals instead of flowers.

1613.—This edition is again 'Imprinted at London for Thomas Adams'. The ornamental border of the title-page is the same as that of the 1598 and 1604 editions. In each of these editions the label beneath the nightingale and the thorn-bush in the middle of the lower border is blank. When Jugge used it in 1575 it had the motto *omne bonū. supernū.* The issue consists of 204 numbered pages, but the animal initial-letter blocks are replaced by floriated blocks and sometimes by figures of saints.

1626.—This edition consists again of 204 pages, but it is



**The birth of man-  
kinde, otherwyse**

named The VVo-  
mans Booke.

Set forth in English by Tho-  
mas Raynalde Whilston, and  
by him corrected, and aug-  
mented. Whose con-  
sents yee may reade  
in the Table fo-  
lowyng :  
but most playnely in  
the prologue.

Imprinted at London by  
*Richard Watkins.*

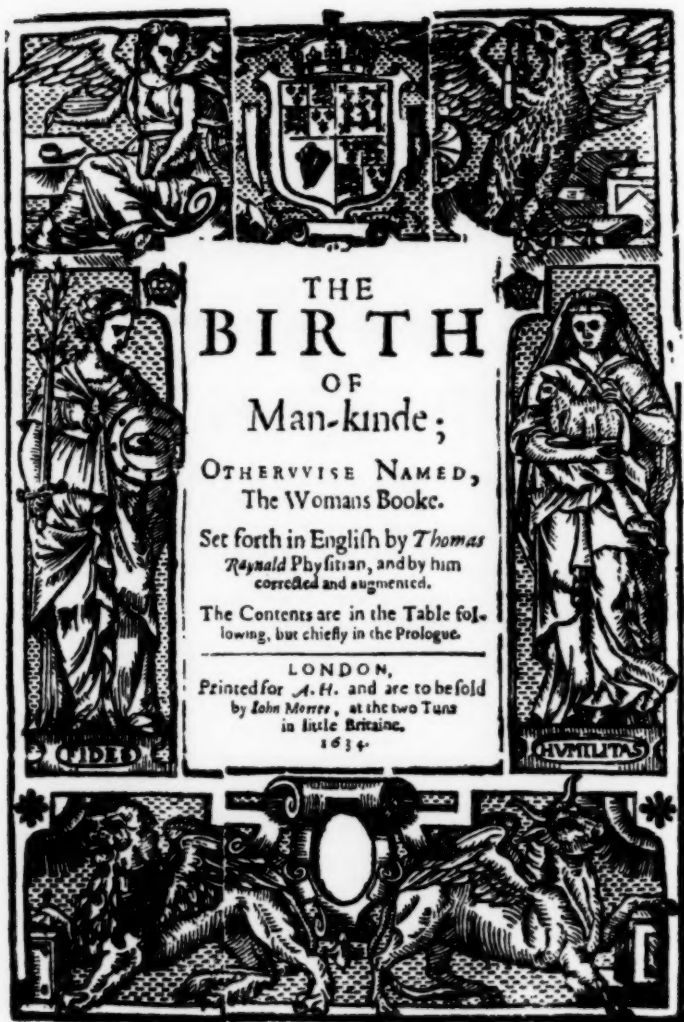
Cum Privilegio.

13. Title-page of Watkins's Edition 'cum privilegio', 1598.



14. Title-page of A[nn] H[ebb's] Edition, 1626.





15. Title-page of A[nn] H[ebb's] Edition, 1634.

THE  
Birth of Mankind,  
Otherwise called,  
*THE WOMAN'S BOOK.*

OR,  
A Guide for Women,

In their { Conception.  
Bearing, and  
Suckling their Children.

CONTAINING

1. *The Anatomy of the Vessel of Generation.*
2. *The Formation of the Child in the Womb.*
3. *What Hinders Conception; and its Remedies.*
4. *What furthers Conception.*
5. *A Guide for women in Conception.*
6. *Of Miscarriage in women.*
7. *A guide for women in Labour.*
8. *A guide for Women in their lying in.*
9. *Of Nursing of Children.*

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Illustrated with Figures.

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Translated into English by *Thomas Reynald,*  
Doctor of Physick.

The Fourth Edition Corrected and Augmented.

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LONDON,  
Printed for J. L. Henry Hood, Abel Raper, and Richard Tomlins,  
and are to be sold at their Shops in Fleetstreet; and at the  
Sun and Bible in Pie-Corner, 1654.

16. Title-page of Last Edition, 1654.

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printed for *A. H.* 'and are to be sold by Iames Boler' (see p. 36). The title-page (Fig. 14) differs entirely from that of the three previous editions. It is highly ornamented and has an angel piping on the top of a square column on the dexter side and a seraph playing a mouth-organ seated on the top of a similar pillar on the sinister side. In the centre of the upper entablature is a conventional flower surrounded by a complicated semicircular ornamentation. Some of the blocks in this edition are floriated, and several represent small angels wrestling, dancing, or playing. It seems probable that this edition was printed by Barker and Bill, the King's Printers, for *A. H.* This *A. H.* was, I believe, the 'Widow Helme' (see p. 36), and I should dearly love to know her maiden name and the relationship she bore to the Jugge and Cawood families.

1634.—This edition, like the four previous ones, consists of 204 numbered pages. It is again printed for *A. H.* 'and are to be sold by John Morret, at the two Tuns in little Britaine'. The title-page (Fig. 15) gives a direct clue to the printer. It consists of four panels from a worn and partly broken block. At each corner is the device of an evangelist, at the sides are full-length figures of Faith and Humility, in the centre of the upper panel are the Royal Arms of King James I, and in the lower panel is an empty cartouche. McKerrow (No. 221) states that it was first used by Christopher Barker in 1579. It then had the arms of Queen Elizabeth in the centre shield and the crest of Sir F. Walsingham in the cartouche at the bottom. It was used in its present form by Robert Barker, the son of Christopher, in 1603-4, the two Tudor roses still remaining. The printer of this edition of *The Birth of Mankind*, therefore, is 'R. Barker and the assigns of J. Bill', so that the title-page recalls the connexion of the firm with the printing of 'The Authorised Version' of the Bible in 1611. There still remained a distant relationship with Jugge and Cawood, for Robert Barker's father, Christopher, had nominated George

Bishop as one of his deputies in the printing-house in 1588, and George Bishop married Mary Cawood. This edition contains some new initial letters, like 'the Pig and Acorns'; but there is at least one block, e.g. the hunched-up bear with the honeycomb, from the 1604 edition.

1654.—This is the last edition of *The Birth of Mankind*, which was presently supplanted by the more scientific midwifery of modern times. It consists of 193 pages (Fig. 16) 'printed for J. L. Henry Hood, Abel Roper, and Richard Tomlins, and are to be sold at their Shops in Fleetstreet; and at the Sun and Bible in Pie-Corner'. The lying title-page, which is poorly printed and otherwise quite uninteresting, says 'The Fourth Edition Corrected and Augmented'. It is not the fourth edition, it has not been corrected, and it certainly has not been augmented. The text is now wholly in roman type and the initial-letter blocks are of the same character as in the 1634 edition. J. L. was John Legat the younger, sometime Printer to the University of Cambridge, who came to London in 1655 and settled in Little Wood Street, where he died on 4 November 1658, 'distempered in his senses'. He married Agatha, daughter of Robert Barker, the King's Printer.

Henry Hood, of St. Dunstan's Churchyard, was free of the Stationers' Company in 1635, and had married the widow of Richard Moore, the bookseller, about 1631.

Abel Roper, who was born at Atherstone in Warwickshire, was printer to the Council of State jointly with Thomas Collins. He was made free of the Stationers' Company in 1637, and died without issue in 1680.

Richard Tomlins was a bookseller living at the Sun and Bible, near Pye Corner, from 1644 to 1656. He obtained the freedom of the Stationers' Company in 1637. The date of his death is unknown.

Perhaps it may seem a work of supererogation, but I have

collated the initial-letter blocks in *The Birth of Mankind*, as it appeared to me to be the only safe way of distinguishing one issue from another. The book had a large sale for many years and was read extensively by doctors, midwives, and ladies bountiful. Perfect copies, therefore, are rare, although many still exist in a more or less dilapidated state, title-pages gone, leaves torn out or scribbled over, and dates altered. Fortunately some of the blocks for the initial letters differ in each issue, although most of them remained in use for many years. It is not difficult therefore to identify different issues by the capital letters. The most difficult issues—for they cannot be called editions—to assign to their proper places are the undated ones and those which bear the date 1565. By the custom of the day every ordinary book had to be set up afresh when 1,250 copies had been struck off so that constant work should be found for the compositors. This rule would account for the two issues of the 1565 dated edition. But it does not explain the numerous undated copies which only differ from each other in a minor degree. The type was not kept standing, and I hope that some one more skilled than myself will show that these different issues bridge over the long interval between 1565 and 1598. It is very unlikely that a popular book with a large sale should have ceased suddenly to be reprinted for thirty-three years, at a time when the population of England was increasing rapidly. It may be that some of the undated issues came from the press of Joan, the widow of Richard Jugge, who was printing from 1577 to 1580, or from that of John Jugge, the son, who printed from 1577 to 1580.

THE PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS OF *THE BIRTH OF MANKIND*  
OR *THE WOMAN'S BOOK*

*Thomas Raynold.*

*T. R.* printed the 1540 edition of *The Birth of Mankind*; *Thomas Ray* printed and Thomas Raynolde edited and enlarged the 1545 edition, and from this date onwards until the book appeared for the last time in 1654 the name of Thomas Raynald appears on each successive title-page. He describes himself as a physician, so that he may possibly have been a Fellow of the College of Physicians, which was founded in London in 1518, though his name does not appear in any of the lists, confessedly incomplete, which have so far been issued. Dr. W. W. Francis and Mr. W. H. Buckler have called my attention to the fact that two persons named Thomas Raynold were at Merton College, Oxford, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century: (i) Thomas Raynoldes, who was a Fellow of the College in 1526 and afterwards became Warden, in succession to Dr. John Chamber, Physician to King Henry VIII, and (ii) Thomas Raynolde, who graduated B.A. in February 1518/19. This Thomas Raynolde had as a friend Walter Buckler, Fellow of Merton College in 1522 and Secretary to Queen Catherine Parr from 1544 to 1547. Thomas Raynolde travelled on the Continent as 'bearleader' to one of the sons of Lady Lisle, to whom he wrote from London on 17 July 1537<sup>1</sup> thanking her for writing to Dr. Chamber on his behalf, and saying that no man living does more for a poor man than the doctor does for him. He has already cost the doctor over 40 marks, and owing to his goodness is one of the Queen's chaplains. The fact that he was in orders would not necessarily prevent him from being a physician, for Dr. John Chamber himself was Dean of St. Stephen's. It would be pleasant

<sup>1</sup> J. Gairdner's *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xii, part 2, No. 273.

if this Thomas Raynolde could be identified with the printer and publisher, as it would explain how he came to have business relationships with Gryphius at Venice in 1551 and why he dedicated *The Birth of Mankind* to Queen Katherine Howard in 1540. There is no certainty, however, about this identification. All that is known about him is that he was printing before the Stationers' Company was founded in 1556; that he was living in Finsbury in 1540, at the Wardrobe in St. Andrew's Parish in 1548, and at the Star in St. Paul's Churchyard from 1549 to 1552. He probably died at some time between 1555 and 1557. He is known to have had business relationships with Nicholas Hill, van de Berghe; with William Hill, who printed the English edition of Geminus's *Anatomy*; with William Seres and with Richard Jugge, all well-known printers of the time. In 1900 Mr. H. R. Plomer brought to the notice of the Society<sup>1</sup> an extract from the City of London Repertory dated 20 August 1540, which runs as follows: 'Thomas Mannyng, John Borrell and John Day late servants [i.e. Assistants not apprentices] to Thomas Reynoldes printer late dwellyng at Hallywell [i.e. Finsbury] nere unto London, sworn and examyned sayeth upon their othes, that at Whitsontyde last past or thereabouts, the said Thomas Reynolds had in his house at Hallywell aforesaid these goods hereafter specified as his own proper goods, for they say that the said Reynolds occupied and used them as his own goodes, for they never knew that eny other person claymed any parte of them, or brought any part of them to the house of the said Reynoldes to keep or otherwise.

First a long gowne of browne, blewẽ faced with martens tayles.

Item, a short gowne welted with velvett of newe color, cloth faced with sarcanet.

Item, ij Jaketts of wursted, blak, one garded with velvett & the other unguarded.

Item, ij Dobleetts of Russett and wursted, color russett, the one sleeved with russett velvett, and the other with russett satten.

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. vi, p. 20.



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Item, A Spanishe cloke of frescade [a light material] color, black welted with velvett.

Item, iiij bokes of Vincentius' workes.

It. a greate boke called Arnoldus de villa noua.

Item ij herballs one in Latten, and the other in Englishe.

It. a boke of colloquium erasmi.

Item a boke of David's psalter in latten.

Item. a boke of M. Elyott's Dicionary.

Item. a boke of Adagia Erasmi in great volume.

Item. a boke of Marshalls Epigrames.

It. ij ffygures graven in copper the one the man the other woman with their  
Intrayles thereto belonging.

Item. certeyn greate capytall letters graven in copper.

Item. a paire of doble originalls. [Virginalls ?]

Item. a lute of Venes [Venice] making.

Item. The fygures of pater-noster graven in copper, conteyning ix. peces.

It. certen other storreys graven in box & peretre [pear tree].

Dr. A. H. Thomas, Clerk of the Records of the Corporation of London, has most courteously replied to my inquiry as to the conditions under which such a deposition would be made :  
' In the absence of other information about Reynolds, one  
' cannot say definitely what was the meaning of the deposition.  
' At any rate it need not necessarily refer to the administration  
' of the goods and chattels of a deceased person. I should  
' expect that kind of deposition from a garnishee in " Foreign  
' attachment ". By the custom of London, if a creditor began  
' an action of debt against me and a certain John Brown owed  
' me money or happened to be in possession of some of my  
' goods, it was possible for the creditor to have that money or  
' those goods stopped in the hands of John Brown, who was  
' called the " garnishee ". But in attaching the money, &c.,  
' the bailiffs or sergeants might attach some things which did  
' not belong to me at all but were John Brown's own. In  
' such a case John Brown would come into court with evidence  
' that these were his own goods and that I had no interest in  
' them to the value of fourpence. As you will see, this would  
' fit in well with a deposition from three witnesses, that certain

'goods were, as far as they knew, Reynold's own. This seems to me the likeliest supposition. Other cases in which such a deposition might be made are as follows: Reynolds might have made a grant of "omnia mea mobilia et immobilia". Such grants might be made as security for a debt, or, as a power of attorney, &c., and it would be important for the grantee or attorney not to deal with goods which were in Reynolds's custody, but not his own; or, Reynolds might be defendant in an action for debt and having failed to appear, be ordered to be distrained by all his goods and chattels to answer the plaintiff. I think you might say quite safely that this deposition and list were made in connection with some proceedings in which Reynolds was involved.'

*Richard Jugge.*

The 1560 edition of *The Birth of Mankind* was published by Richard Jugge, who was born at Waterbeach in Cambridgeshire. He was educated at Eton and went to King's College, Cambridge, in 1531. He began to print in 1547 at the sign of the Bible at the North Door in St. Paul's Churchyard, and moved to Newgate Market, 'next unto Christchurch', in 1573. In 1564 he is returned as having two presses. He was unrivalled for the richness of his initial letters, which were, I think, probably produced in France, for ornamental letters of a very similar design were being used by Andrew Wechel, 'sub Pegaso in Vico Bellovaco', Paris, in his edition of the works of Goraues published in 1564. Jugge was three times Warden and four times Master of the Stationers' Company. He was appointed Royal Printer to Queen Elizabeth conjointly with John Cawood on 24 March 1560. He died in 1577, leaving a bequest of 20s. to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He used the pelican in her piety as his printer's device, and often joined with it his cipher and a rebus of a cupid holding a letter *R* and a nightingale sitting on the spray of a thornbush singing *Jug, Jug*.

*John Cawood.*

John Cawood, who was associated with Richard Jugge as Queen's Printer, was born of a Yorkshire family in 1514. He was apprenticed to John Reynes (d. 1544) and began to print in 1546 at the Sign of the Holy Ghost in St. Paul's Churchyard. He was appointed Printer to Queen Mary in 1553 in the place of Richard Grafton, who was deprived of his office and imprisoned for printing the Proclamation by which Lady Jane Grey was declared successor to the Crown. He is returned in 1564 as having no presses. Cawood was three times Master of the Stationers' Company, and was fined 16s. 8d. in 1565 for 'stechen of bookes which ys contrarie to the orders of the howse'. He died in 1572.

Jugge and Cawood published the 1560, 1561 (?), 1564 (?), 1565 (?), and the 1565 (dated) editions of *The Birth of Mankind*.

*Richard Watkins.*

Richard Watkins was apprenticed to William Powell and was made free of the Stationers' Company in 1577. He was Master of the Company in 1589 and 1594. He held, with James Roberts, the patent for printing Almanacks, and is thought to have lived at the Sign of Love and Death in St. Paul's Churchyard. He married Katherine, daughter of Richard Jugge in 1569, and his father-in-law left him 'all my oulde goulde and silver of forraine coine and of any other coine whatsoever being in a box in my compting howse'. Watkins died in poor circumstances in 1599 (?). He published the two issues of the 1598 edition of *The Birth of Mankind*.

*Thomas Adams.*

Thomas Adams was the son of a yeoman of Nyensavage,<sup>1</sup> in Shropshire, and was apprenticed to George Bishop. He was

<sup>1</sup> I cannot identify this place. It is not mentioned in any Gazetteer or Guide-book.

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made free of the Stationers' Company in 1590, and was three times Warden, but never became Master. George Bishop, to whom he had been apprenticed, transferred his copyrights to him in 1611, and Bishop had married the eldest daughter of John Cawood. The records of the Stationers' Company state that on 5 December 1598 'Entered for his copie in full Court 'holden this day and by assignement from Master Watkins a 'book called the *birth of mankind* otherwise *Womans booke* . . . 'vi<sup>a</sup>'. Adams died in 1620, leaving a bason and ewer to the Bishop of London. He published the 1604 and 1613 editions of *The Birth of Mankind*.

*Thomas Dawson.*

It appears that the 1604 and 1613 editions were printed by Thomas Dawson, the elder, who had been apprenticed to Richard Jugge for eight years from the year 1559. He was made free of the Stationers' Company in February 1567/8. He was chiefly a trade printer, and in the return made to the Bishop of London in 1583 he is entered as having three presses. He was twice Master of the Stationers' Company, died in 1620, and was succeeded in the business by his nephew, John Dawson.

*James Boler.*

James Boler, who sold the 1620 edition of the *Birth of Mankind* for *A. H.*, was made free of the Stationers' Company in 1612/13. He was chiefly associated with Robert Milborne, and was a publisher of works on divinity. He died in 1635. *A. H.* is probably Anne Helme, 'Widow Helme', who in 1627 assigned all the copyrights belonging to her late husband John Helme to William Washington. As I have already stated, it would be very interesting to know the maiden name of Widow Helme, and it would probably be found that she was a grandchild either of Richard Jugge or John Cawood, for the *Birth of Mankind* seems to have been kept on the distaff side of the

family, perhaps as pin money, because it was a good seller. The 1626 edition was still being sold for *A. H.*, and I have already given reasons for thinking that the printer was Robert Barker (p. 28).

The last edition of the *Birth of Mankind* was printed for *J. L.* and his associates, of whom details have been given (p. 29); as he had married Robert Barker's daughter it seems likely that the book was issued from the King's Printing House.

In conclusion I have to offer my best thanks to the President and Council of the Royal College of Physicians, of the Royal College of Surgeons, of the Medical Society of London, and of the Royal Society of Medicine for permission to exhibit a complete series of the different editions, but probably not of the different issues, of the *Birth of Mankind or the Woman's Book*. Much has been done, but much still remains to be done before it is possible to tell the whole story of a once celebrated book.

## THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

### ANNUAL MEETING

15 March 1927

THE thirty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at 20 Hanover Square immediately on the conclusion of the ordinary meeting, the President, Sir D'Arcy Power, in the Chair.

The minutes of the thirty-third Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The President introduced the Annual Report and Balance Sheet.<sup>1</sup> Copies of these being in the hands of members, they were taken as read; their adoption was then moved by Mr. Redgrave, seconded by Mr. Payen-Payne, and carried unanimously.

Dr. Greg then moved and Mr. F. Sidgwick seconded the re-election of the Officers of the Society, namely the President, the Hon. Treasurer, the Hon. Secretaries, the Hon. Librarian, and Auditors, for the ensuing session. This was duly carried.

Dr. Reed then moved and Mr. Harold Williams seconded the election of the following as Members of Council: Mr. P. S. Allen, Mr. R. A. Austen-Leigh, Dr. E. Marion Cox, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, Messrs. Lionel Cust, E. H. Dring, Stephen Gaselee, J. P. Gilson, Dr. Geoffrey Keynes, Messrs. J. P. R. Lyell and Frank Sidgwick, and Dr. Henry Thomas. This was carried unanimously, and the proceedings then terminated.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *The Library* (vol. vii, no. 4), March, 1927.

## KEEP THE WIDOW WAKING

A LOST PLAY BY DEKKER

By CHARLES SISSON



BEN JONSON told Drummond 'that the half of his comedies were not in print', and Henslowe's Diary bears witness to a number of lost plays in which he had a hand. We have evidence from the same source of many plays by other authors which have disappeared. The number may be greatly increased as other contemporary records undergo more exhaustive search, and especially records of proceedings at law.

Elizabethan and Stuart dramatists fell foul of royal authority often enough, as is well known. While it was tempting to cater for the topical interests of the audiences, and to profit thereby, it was a risky game. Ben Jonson was in trouble in 1597, along with Nashe, over *The Isle of Dogs*, and was imprisoned in the Marshalsea. He came before the Council again to answer for the political and religious implications of *Sejanus*, and in 1605 was imprisoned a second time, with Chapman, for his share in *Eastward Ho!* The satire upon the Scots, and the Scots King of England, would undoubtedly please the audiences of London. There is further evidence of this in Day's *Isle of Gulls* in 1606, as a result of which 'sundry were committed to Bridewell' (Birch, *Memorials*, i. 59).

These plays were judged to be of seditious import, and to implicate Crown or Crown policy, and therefore were dealt with by the Privy Council. Such were the perils of which Tilney, Master of the Revels and Censor of Plays, acting for the Lord Chamberlain, a Crown official, warned the authors and actors of the proposed play *Sir Thomas More*, when he sent it back to them with his orders for drastic revision.



But the stage could also cause offence to humbler antagonists, in its capacity as a mirror of London events and persons of topical notoriety, and I am not aware that detailed account has been given of any instance of this aspect of the Elizabethan stage.

The records of the Court of Star Chamber contain at least two sets of documents reporting suits in which citizens of London seek redress against actors and dramatists for stage comments upon their life and private affairs. This Court, in essence a judicial committee of the Privy Council delegated by the Crown, investigated misdemeanours such as could not be satisfactorily dealt with in the ordinary process of law. During the greater part of its history it was a most valuable Court of Equity. Among other matters, it inquired into conspiracies, libels, and interferences with justice. All three offences were capable of the widest interpretation, and injured parties could make it their business to discover and allege such implications in the making of plays for the popular stage to which they objected on personal grounds. If they were fortunate enough to persuade the Attorney-General that their complaint was of public importance, they had enlisted a valuable ally against a stage which had powerful interests behind it.

When Jonson was imprisoned along with Chapman in 1605, he protested in a letter to the Earl of Salisbury that his plays had never 'given offence to a nation, to a public order or state, or to any person of honour or authority' (E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iii. 255). But Chapman, two years before, had already experienced the dangers of a play giving offence to persons of little authority or honour.

Among the Star Chamber cases which I have examined, three permit us to add the name of a play hitherto unknown to the list of Elizabethan and Stuart plays. Of these three plays, two were by authors of the first rank, and both had given offence to London citizens. The first in chronological order

is a play called *The Old Joiner of Aldgate*, for which Chapman was solely responsible. He finished writing the play just after Christmas 1600, and sold it to Thomas Woodford for twenty marks. It was acted by the Children of Paul's, evidently one of the first ventures of their new Master, Edward Pearce (or Peers as he signs himself), throughout Hilary Term 1601. It was alleged that the play libelled certain citizens, and that it was deliberately contrived to be acted then in order to prejudice a matrimonial action in course of hearing in the Court of Arches. After a series of preliminary trials, the case was taken to the Star Chamber, where the complaint now included the writing and acting of the play and cited the dramatist as a defendant. The Bill of Information, signed by Bacon, is dated 6 May 1603, and Chapman's signed deposition was taken on 30 May. There are also depositions by Woodford and Pearce which are of great interest.

The second in order of date is *St. Christopher*, apparently a belated Mystery with topical additions, which was acted at Golthwayt and in other places in Yorkshire about Christmas 1609, by a travelling company of local players. If we are to accept the evidence of the actors, the play was in print, and the printed copy used by them as their prompt-copy, even as they used in 1609 such printed books as *Pericles* and *King Lear*. Exceptional interest attaches to this evidence, to the full description of the play of *St. Christopher*, to the activities of this provincial company, and to the element of religious controversy imported into the play. This last factor, which lies at the root of the Star Chamber trial in 1613-14, brings the case into the first category of State Trials, and it hints at the degeneration of the Star Chamber into an instrument of royal inquisition.

The third is a play which is generally referred to as *Keep the Widow Waking*, though its full title as given by Dekker in his Answer is 'The late Murder in White Chappell, or, Keepe

the Widow waking'. The joint authors were Dekker, Rowley, Ford, and Webster. It was acted at the Red Bull during the autumn of 1624.

I propose to give an account of this third case, leaving the other two for the present. The Star Chamber records, calendared in the Public Record Office under *Star Chamber Proceedings, James I*, Bundle 31, No. 16, are admirably complete, lacking only the decree of the Court. (Where the decrees are known, it is invariably from other sources. I have met with only one instance of any record, in the Proceedings themselves, of the decisions of the Court.) They include the Bill of Information, laid by the Attorney-General, Sir Thomas Coventry, the Answers of the Defendants, the Interrogatories, and the Depositions of Witnesses and Defendants. All the documents are remarkably full. And interpolations and additions make it possible to trace various stages in the inquiry.

Certain documents contained among the Proceedings are especially interesting. A most unusual document is 'The Answer of Thomas Dekker one of the Defend(an)ts', dated 3 February 1625, which I judge to be undeniably autograph. Evidently Dekker drew up his Answer himself, wrote it out, and subsequently had it slightly revised and signed by a lawyer, Nathaniel Finch. It is a most unorthodox form of Answer, and does not contain the usual safeguarding preliminaries. The parchment is numbered fol. 30, and measures  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in. by  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in. It is endorsed 'Decker bille Attor'. It will be reproduced in my second article in collotype together with the last page of Dekker's signed deposition on fols. 48 a and 49 b. There are also signed depositions by Aaron Holland, the owner of the site and theatre, and by Ellis Worth, the principal actor of the company occupying it.

The Bill of Information contains the full text of a Ballad in two parts narrating one of the two stories of the play, the events of which led to the appeal to the Star Chamber. And

it further enables us to date the death of William Rowley, one of the dramatists concerned. From Dekker's Answer and Deposition we learn a good deal about the genesis and writing of the play, including the part for which he was personally responsible. And some of the evidence, as well as of the Information, bears upon an appeal to the Master of the Revels, to whom Dekker also refers. We shall recur to these questions of literary and biographical interest.

The whole story throws light not only upon the workings of the popular stage, but also upon a sordid and unpleasant underworld of impecunious and blackguardly fortune-hunters battering upon an intemperate old widow of means. I have been able to supplement the information contained in the Star Chamber Proceedings from other sources, notably from the records of the Middlesex Sessions, now in the Middlesex Guildhall in Westminster. These records help to complete the story on which the comic part of the play was founded, and furnish most of the information concerning the murder which was related in its tragic plot.

Incongruous as was the linking together of the two stories into one play, in one respect at least the facts justified the play. For the two wretched criminals involved lay in the same gaol together and were led forth on the same day to stand together at the bar of judgement. The coincidence serves to deepen the impression of a certain heartlessness which the Jacobean age reflects in its drama as elsewhere. At the Gaol Delivery from Newgate on 3 September 1624 there came for trial at the Old Bailey both Tobias Audley for felony, and Nathaniel Tindall for murder.<sup>1</sup> Audley lingered on in gaol until he died, and Tindall was found guilty and executed. Meanwhile the stage of the Red Bull had seized upon them, making a jest of the one, and melodrama of the other, in frequent performances of what seems to have been a successful

<sup>1</sup> Gaol Delivery Register, vol. 3, fols. 128 b and 129 b.

play, written by four of the most famous dramatists of the time. There was, perhaps, more true mercy in the Courts of Justice.

We may judge from the story of Anne Elsdon and Tobias Audley how far it was fitted for a comic plot. It is essential to have it in some detail if we are to understand the Ballad and the information given concerning the play. And it furnishes an admirable commentary upon such a play as Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*, with its shady crew of dissolute scamps. One of Audley's crew, Holiday, like Subtle, was a 'reputed Coniuror, and teller of fortunes'.

The unfortunate heroine was the widow of John Elsdon or Ellesden, described as a gentleman, whom she had married at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields on 21 January 1590/1,<sup>1</sup> at the age of 29. She was now 62 years of age. She had an only child, Frances, married to a highly respectable citizen, Benjamin Garfield, of St. James's, Clerkenwell. Three grandchildren had died during the last seven years.<sup>2</sup> She herself lived in West Smithfield, not far from her daughter and son-in-law, and not far from the Red Bull Theatre in St. John Street, Clerkenwell. But she had familiar acquaintances of a baser sort in her declining years. One of these was a young man, Tobias Audley or Awdley, described in the Information as 'of Wood 'streete in your Cittye of London, a keep(er) of a Tobacco 'shoppe and a most notorious Lewd p(er)son and of noe worth 'of Creditt'. However this might be, he was a suitor in the way of marriage to the old widow. It is true that he was a widower,<sup>3</sup> but otherwise he was hardly a suitable match. I gather that he was about 25 years of age, if one may strike a medium between defence and prosecution evidence. His motive was clear enough. Mrs. Elsdon's property was valued

<sup>1</sup> *Registers*, Harl. Soc. Publ.: '1590/1 Jan 21 Joan'es Ellesdon & Anna Mumes'.

<sup>2</sup> St. James's, Clerkenwell, *Registers*, Harl. Soc. Publ.

<sup>3</sup> *Answer of F. Holiday*.

by a witness who had doubtless gone into the question with some care, her son-in-law Garfield, at £90 a year in lands with personal estate to the value of £1,000, and local gossip credited her with an estate of £6,000 in all. This was a considerable fortune.

It is fairly clear that Anne had proclivities which made her easy of approach, and that her troubles arose in the first instance from visits to taverns in disreputable company before her last disastrous venture upon conviviality. Audley, a seller of tobacco and spirits, was a queer companion for her even in the democratic society of the City. It is agreed on all hands that he was her suitor. Differences of opinion begin with the question of her reception of his suit. The defence claims that she was inclined to accept his suit, and finally did marry him by her own consent, given after a drinking party at the Greyhound Tavern in Blackfriars, kept by Robert Taylor. The prosecution urges that she refused to consider the suit of 'this beggerlie boy', sought escape from his assiduities, and only consented to meet him in the tavern 'to drink a quart of wyne . . . for a farewell . . . in hope to be Rydde and freed from . . . Audeley and his further daylie sollicitaçon'.<sup>1</sup>

The whole series of events, indeed, is narrated by defence and prosecution in totally different lights. The narrative is further complicated by a good deal of confusion and conflict of evidence of fact, and the Information is singularly inaccurate in many respects. Here we must seek to disentangle the probable truth, and tell the story underlying the play of *Keep the Widow Waking*, to the best of our judgement, as a consistent whole.

About eight o'clock on the evening of Wednesday, 21 July 1624, Anne Elsdon, accompanied by her friend Martha Jackson, aged 40, the wife of a shoemaker, went with Audley on his invitation to the Greyhound Tavern. They were shown into a private room, and found there awaiting them a motley company which included two disreputable ministers of religion,

<sup>1</sup> *Information.*

Nicholas Cartmell and Francis Holiday, and two women of easy virtue, Mary Spenser of Charterhouse Lane, of the junior branch of her profession, and her 'Nurse', as she calls her, Margery Terry. Anne and Martha were plied generously with drink, and it was hoped that Anne would declare before witnesses that she would accept Audley as her husband and so contract herself to him. All present were in the plot and were to profit from the resulting marriage, Audley having promised sums varying from £100 to Holiday to £20 to Terry, and the reversion of his tobacco shop to Edmond Hide, his assistant or servant. It appears that the two scandalous old men, Holiday and Cartmell,<sup>1</sup> and the bawd Terry were the prime movers who devised the scheme. Holiday's 'sonne' Audley, as he called him, was to sue Anne persistently by ordinary means, and when this failed or hung fire, to have recourse to more sinister practices.

Both Anne and Martha drank to excess at the Greyhound. Martha was relegated to the kitchen, where she spent an unhappy night. Taylor shut up his house, a bed or pallet was set up for Anne, and the whole party stayed there all night. On the following morning, Thursday, Martha went home, but Anne was taken by Audley, Cartmell, and Terry across the river to Lambeth and into St. George's Fields, and had more drink there. Returning to London, they brought her to another tavern, the Nag's Head in Cheapside, kept by Francis Wise. There the same company gathered together again, and the unfortunate woman was kept there three days and nights in a constant state of drunkenness. She was given wine in quantities, together with such 'hot waters' or spirits as *aqua vite*, *rosa solis*, and *hum*. (The Court evinced unusual interest in *hum*, but obtained no answer to their curious inquiries concerning 'the signification of *hum*'.) The wife

<sup>1</sup> Cartmell was 78 in 1624. He had been Rector of Clay Coton since 1571 and Vicar of Guilsboro, near Northampton, since 1587.



of Hide, one of the crew, confessed 'w'h weeping teares that 'after . . . An Ellesden came to the . . . Nags Head tauerne 'she was very sicke and sencles and yet the d(e)f(endan)ts did 'powre downe such vialls of hot waters downe her throate that 'she thought was able to kill a horse'.<sup>1</sup> The bawd Terry indeed feared she would die, and so protested to Audley, who replied unfeelingly, 'lett her bee hangde, Ile haue her goods and lett them take her lands'.<sup>2</sup> Anne still held out in spite of this, however, and drugs were sent for and used by Cartmell, who is described by one John Snowe who turned King's evidence as 'faine to raise some meane maintenance by a supposed skill in phisicke, and some other discredited courses'.

Some form of contract of marriage was gone through on this first evening at the Nag's Head, which consisted of Cartmell placing Anne's hand in Audley's before witnesses. The key of Anne's house, furthermore, was taken from her pocket, and Audley and Wise went there and brought back about £20, limiting their depredations for the moment to meet present necessities, including the cost of a marriage licence. The licence was obtained next day, Friday, 23 July, from the Chancellor of the Bishop of London's office, with the help of a Proctor of their acquaintance, William Durham. Apparently young Hide was sent for it, and Audley paid the fee. The record remains in the *Vicar-General's Papers*, vol. i, at Somerset House, and reads as follows, with the abbreviations filled in:

Licentia vicesimo tertio die mensis Julii Anno d(omi)ni 1624 em(anavi)t  
matrimonii li(ce)n(ti)a R(ec)tori vicario seu Curato eccl(es)ie p(ar)o(chia)lis  
inter S(anc)ti Barth(olome)i magni London ad solemnizand(um) matri-  
Audley et monium inter Tobiam Audley Stiller et Anne Elsnor par(ochi)o  
Elsnor. S(anc)ti Bart(holome)i magni London viduam relictam (blank)  
Elsnor defuncti in unica bannoru(m) edicione vt moris est Ac ita  
vt nullum inde generetur preiudicium etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Deposition of John Davis* 'of the p(ar)ish of St. Olaue in the Borough of Southwarke, dier, aged 42', a rival suitor, I fancy.

<sup>2</sup> *Deposition of John Snowe* of 'Saint Giles in the ffeilds gent aged 46 yeares'.

The licence thus granted permitted the marriage to be celebrated by any of the clergy of St. Bartholomew's the Great at that church, without preliminary publication of banns. Difficulties arose. Cartmell at first refused to officiate in the tavern. Audley saw Durham again and asked for a dispensation for the place. This being impossible, he decided to marry her first and seek a dispensation afterwards,<sup>1</sup> on the ground that Anne had refused to go to church, having no fitting clothes and being unwell. On his return, about noon on the 23rd, Cartmell performed a ceremony of marriage. We need not be surprised that my search of the Parish Registers for a record of the marriage was fruitless, though even irregular marriages were sometimes registered subsequently in the Church Books. Anne was evidently in a state of alcoholic coma. Mary Spenser related, on examination before Justice Duckett, that she found Anne sitting in a chair like a sick person. When Cartmell read the words asking her if she would have Audley to husband, as she was unable to speak, Spenser 'did take her 'by the Chin and strike her teeth together to cause her to 'answer, w<sup>h</sup> she not doing . . . Cartmell reiterated the words 'but had not any answer from . . . An Elesden'.<sup>2</sup> Snowe, after the ceremony, 'said hee would goe in, and bidd God 'give her ioy, and when hee came in, hee found her sitting in 'a chaire, leaning her bodie all on one side, and driveling, 'and this depon(en)t speaking somewhat lowd vnto her, and 'shaking her, and bidding God give her ioy, shee was vnable 'to speake vnto him againe'. Thereafter what had taken place at the Blackfriars tavern was repeated; a bed was set up for Anne, Audley put off his clothes, came to the company and cried 'all was his nowe', and 'then went into the 'roome where . . . Anne so lay distempered, and went to bedd to her'.

<sup>1</sup> *Deposition of William Durham* 'of St Gregory london aged 46 g(ent)'.  
<sup>2</sup> *Deposition of John Davis*.

I have little doubt that this is the true story, and that the pictures of love and merriment on both sides, drawn by Audley, Holiday, Ward, and two of the tavern-keepers, Hopkins and Wise, represent some hard lying and revolting heartlessness, which later events emphasize.

The day of the marriage was spent by the company in drunken revelry in the Nag's Head, keeping open house for their friends and relations at Anne's expense. The bill in the end amounted to between £20 and £25. Next morning, Saturday, Anne protested that she was not Audley's wife, and told Snowe tragically 'that shee was married to no one butt to her grave'. The conspirators, secure in their success, now had nothing but taunts for her. She was shown the marriage licence, jeered at as 'old hag' and 'old jade', and when the harlot Mary Spenser suggested to Audley that he might 'make much of her, and soe stop her exclamaçons', Audley replied 'that hee had as leive goe to bedd to an old Sowe'.<sup>1</sup> The only remedy to Anne's griefs that was applied was strong drink, and she was soon drunk again.

But trouble now began. Audley believed himself to be master of her fortune, and he was probably on his way to Anne's house when Garfield fired his first shot. Audley was arrested at his suit, but was bailed by the help of his brother John, and apparently this charge dropped. So Audley was able to spend the Saturday night rifling Anne's house, from which he brought away £120 in gold, £20 in rings and plate, and various deeds and bonds. The disintegration of her estate was well under way. What went on in the Nag's Head on Saturday and Sunday may be imagined from the contents of the play, and from evidence of next-door neighbours. Sara Pickes heard 'a woman crying out in the s(ai)d Roome I will 'go home, I will go home . . . making great moane that she 'was deteyned there ag(ains)t her will diu(er)se p(er)sons in

<sup>1</sup> *Deposition of Snowe.*

'the s(ai)d roome telling her that she should not go'.<sup>1</sup> Frances Streete heard her 'bewaile and bemone her misfortune saying 'o lord o lord I am vndone: wherunto some person then 'pre(sen)te made answeare . . . wee willbe merry and haue our 'coach and six horses and so goe see yo<sup>r</sup> howse att Rumford'.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile Anne's daughter and her husband Garfield were seeking for the vanished widow, and Robert Boulton, stationer, who owed Anne £20,<sup>3</sup> and bought his bond of Audley for £5 as his share of the spoils, put them off the scent by directing them to Romford. The desire to keep Anne concealed led to a further change of haunt. A visit of suspicious churchwardens to the Nag's Head on Sunday morning hastened the move. The unfortunate victim was taken to the Bell Tavern in Wood Street, suspected of being a disorderly house, where Audley lodged, on Sunday evening the 25th. There, according to the tavern-keeper, Thomas Hopkins, 'thay boath 'lay in bedd together . . . all that night and spent the next 'day in meryment, and at night about Tenn of the Clocke 'thay were lighted home to the house of . . . Anne by one of ' . . . (Hopkins's) servaunts'.<sup>4</sup>

Thus Anne was returned to her devastated house on Monday night, and it may be gathered that Audley left her there. He had been unable to obtain from her legal assignments of her lands, but was alarmed at the threats of Mrs. Garfield to break open Anne's house in search of her. Anne was in no better case than her house, and it is said that she lay ill or stupid and senseless 'and in a manner speecheles' for nine or

<sup>1</sup> *Deposition of Sara Pickes*, 'wife of Agmondisham Pickes Citizen and Gouldsmith aged 40'.

<sup>2</sup> *Deposition of Frances Streete*, 'wief of Richard Streete of Broad Streete london hosier aged abouts xxiiij'.

<sup>3</sup> *Deposition of Robert Boulton* 'of West [East] smithfeild London Stationer'; age not stated.

<sup>4</sup> *Answer of Thomas Hopkins*.

ten days after. It is difficult to be sure what Audley had gained. The prosecution alleged that he had carried off £3,000 worth of documents, and doubtless Anne's securities were dealt in to some extent. He had taken £120 in cash, and a good deal of plate. But the tavern expenses for the five days' revels were heavy, £50 in all. He was also committed to share out over £300 to the conspirators, and doubtless their demands were the first to be satisfied. Garfield deposed that Audley in the space of five weeks had wasted the whole of Anne's personal estate, £1,000, and was trying to borrow money.<sup>1</sup>

It remains to trace the aftermath of these proceedings, leaving for the moment the question of the play and ballad which reflected them. Dissensions among the thieves broke out early. Mary Spenser quarrelled with Cartmell over her share, and got Snowe to write for her a most incriminating letter to him, threatening to go to Garfield and 'hang them all'. Cartmell and Holiday sought to make their peace with Garfield, suggesting payment for their offer to deny the marriage, 'and y<sup>e</sup> said Cartmell shold goe into Ireland & soe noe priest noe marriage to be p(ro)ued', to which Garfield replied offering to present them with sixpence to buy a halter for themselves.<sup>2</sup> On 8 August Audley was involved in a brawl at Garfield's house, to which Anne had been taken. Probably Audley insisted on seeing his 'wife' and pressed his marital claims, especially financial. His visit had violent conclusions, and gave Garfield good grounds for setting the law in motion against Audley and also against his companions.

Proceedings now began at the Middlesex Sessions. On 9 August Audley, described as 'generousus', appeared before Justice Williamson, with five friends, including Edmond Ward, one of the defendants, here described as of the Inner Temple,

<sup>1</sup> *Deposition of Benjamin Garfield* 'of Clarkenwell g(ent) aged forty three'.

<sup>2</sup> *Deposition of Frances Fuller*, 'wief of Tho: Fuller of Steben in the Countie of Essex clerke aged 32'. Fuller was the messenger to Garfield.

Gentleman,<sup>1</sup> to give recognizances in £20 each for Audley's appearance at the next Sessions, 'and in the meane time to 'keep the peace agts o<sup>r</sup> soveraigne Lo: the king & all his people 'especially agts one Mr Garfeild'.<sup>2</sup> On 25 August Robert Butcher, a tailor, was bound to appear at the next Sessions, 'beeing bound to doe his best endeavor to produce Mary 'Spenser and Margaret Terry w<sup>h</sup> hee hath not done therfor 'to Answer such matters on his Ma(jes)ties behalfe as shall be 'objected against him by Mr Garfeild'.<sup>3</sup> The words added, 'ven et exor Rog Horton', show that Justice Horton acquitted him on his appearance. Terry evidently disappeared for a time, but Spenser was soon in custody. Audley surrendered to his recognizances and was lodged in 'the newe prison'.<sup>4</sup>

On 1 September Audley and Spenser both appeared at the Sessions of Peace, at Hicks Hall in John Street, and were committed to gaol, to be brought up again before the Justices of Peace. Spenser was bailed on 4 September, her sureties being John May of St. Giles in the Fields, gentleman, and Butcher.<sup>5</sup> Audley next appears on 3 September on the Gaol Delivery from Newgate, at the Old Bailey, on the charge of assault. A True Bill was returned by the Grand Jury, which runs as follows :

po se

Juratores pro dno Rege sup(er) sacrm suum presentant qd Tobias Audley nup(er) de Clarkenwell in Com Midd yom octavo die Augusti Anno Regni dni nri Jacobi dei gra Anglie ffrancie et Hibnie Regis fidei defensr &c vicesimo scdo et Scotie lviii vi et Armis &c apud Clarkenwell pd in Com pd in et sup(er) quand(am) Annam Elsdon in pace dei et dci dni Regis nunc adtunc et ibm existen insult fecit Et ipsam Anna(m) Elsdon adtunc et ibm verb(er)avit et vulneravit et malectravit Ita qd de vita eius desp(er)abatur et alia enorma

<sup>1</sup> Snowe describes him as 'held to bee a Common Taverne follower, and to live in a kind of roaring fashion, w<sup>h</sup>out credit or esteeme'.

<sup>2</sup> Sessions Rolls 630/194.

<sup>3</sup> Sessions Rolls 630/61.

<sup>4</sup> Sessions Rolls 630/252, 'A Calendar for the newe prison the ferste of September 1624'.

<sup>5</sup> Sessions Rolls 631/87.

eid(em) Anne Elsdon addunt et ibm intulit ad g(ra)ue dampnum ipius Anne Et  
contra pace(m) dci dni Regis nunc Corona(m) et dignitat suas

Beniamin Garfeild p(ro)s

Katerin Jorden Will Dugdale Anne Baylie

Audley is here accused by Garfield of an aggravated assault on Anne, to the endangering of her life, on 8 August in Clerkenwell, to which charge he pleaded not guilty (*posuit se non culpabilem*).<sup>1</sup> When he came to trial on this charge in the course of the Sessions, before Justice Daniell, he was acquitted. The entry is as follows :

ven et exo<sup>r</sup>

Tobias Audley de poch sci Sepulchri Lond Chirurgion pro suss felon

Wm Daniell :

At the General Sessions at Westminster on 30 September Audley was brought up again from Newgate. Both Audley and Spenser were once more remanded. A third culprit, an obscure 'Clerke', Thomas Fuller, whose wife, Frances Fuller, of Stebbing, Essex, gave evidence in the Star Chamber, was also examined, 'being suspected to be A procurer of an vn-lawfull Marryadge betwene Tobias Audley and Ann Elesden', and was acquitted at a later Session on 8 December, before Justice Longe.<sup>3</sup>

At the Gaol Delivery on 4 October Audley appeared again before Justice Williamson on some alternative charge, and was committed without bail to the next Sessions at the Old Bailey.<sup>4</sup> On 6 December Mary Spenser made her third appearance at the Sessions of the Peace at Hicks Hall. The charge was 'practizing an vnlawfull Marryadge betweene Tobias Audley and Anne Elesden', and she was acquitted by Justice Horton.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sessions Rolls 630/235.

<sup>2</sup> Gaol Delivery Register, vol. 3, fol. 129 b.

<sup>3</sup> Sessions Rolls 631/103, dated 25 September; Sessions Register, iv. 206, 30 September; Gaol Delivery Register, vol. 3, fol. 136 b.

<sup>4</sup> Gaol Delivery Register, vol. 3, fol. 131 a.

<sup>5</sup> Sessions Registers, iv. 214.



Audley appears again in connexion with Gaol Deliveries on 8 December, when he was remanded for the carrying out of a previous order, and on 17 January 1624/5, when he was again remanded at the instance of the Lord Mayor of London.<sup>1</sup> The matter had long since passed out of the hands of the Middlesex Justices. Garfield perceived that his charges against his enemies under the Common Law were not effective, one after another charge failing. The whole question had been further complicated by the play and ballad. He therefore took the matter to the Court of Star Chamber, and laid an Information there, which the Attorney-General sponsored. The Bill of Information is dated 26 November. The Answers of Audley and his friends are dated 10 December, and those of the theatre people involved from Dekker's on 3 January to Holland's on 5 February. Terry's Answer is in the nature of a confession, and is dated 31 January. The Interrogatories to the Defendants are dated 4 January, and the depositions of Audley's friends were taken from 13 January to 27 January. The Interrogatories to Prosecution witnesses were drawn up on 25 February, and Snow was examined on 27 February. But the case dragged on interminably during 1625 and until after July 1626, with new matter and new Prosecution witnesses.

In the meantime the principal parties had died. Anne Elsdon was dead before 24 March 1626, as Martha Jackson's evidence shows, and possibly died much earlier. Frances Fuller's evidence shows that Audley had died before 10 July 1625. And we may assume, from the absence of any deposition by Audley, that he died in Newgate shortly after the last reference to him in the Middlesex records on 19 January 1625. I have failed to find any record of the burial of either. Cartmell also was dead, as an entry in the Parish Register of Guilsboro, of

<sup>1</sup> Gaol Delivery Register, vol. 3, fols. 133 b and 137 a; Gaol Delivery Roll 636/92.

which he was Vicar (see p. 46, note 1), records his burial on 9 January 1626. It is likely that the Star Chamber trial died of protraction, and that Garfield's desire for vengeance faded, with the impossibility of recovering the lost goods, and with the death of the principal offender, Audley. It may be added that the Information certainly left many loopholes by its inaccuracies of statement, and by the vagueness of its charges. Garfield himself died on 18 October 1630, at the age of 48, and was buried in St. James's, Clerkenwell. Anne's daughter, Mrs. Garfield, seems to have survived until 1661, when she joined her husband in the vault of the church and the Star Chamber itself had passed out of existence.

The murder which furnished the play with its serious matter may be dealt with more briefly. The records of the Middlesex Sessions give the facts that are important in the eyes of the law. Nathaniel Tindall or Grindall, of Whitechapel, yeoman, murdered Joan Tindall or Grindall on 9 April 1624 in Whitechapel. He came to trial at the Old Bailey at the Gaol Delivery from Newgate, along with Tobias Audley, on Friday, 3 September.<sup>1</sup> The Grand Jury returned a True Bill which I give here as it is written :

Cogn Ss ppe domu vbi ppetrauit murdrum

Midd Juratores pro dno Rege super sacrm suu presentant qd Nathaniel Tindall als Grindall nuper de Whitechappell in Com Midd yom deu pre oculis suis non hens sed instigacone diabolica motus et seduct nono die Aprilis Anno Regni dni nri Jacobi dei gra Anglie ffrancie et Hibnie Regis fidei defensr &c vicesimo scdo et Scotie lvij vi et Armis &c apud Whitechappell pd in Co Pd in et super quand Johannam Tindall als Grindall adtunc et ibm in pace dei et dci dni Regis existen felonice voluntar et ex malitia sua precogitat insult fecit Et qd idem Nathaniel Tindall als Grindall cu quod Cultello de ferro et Calibe ad valanc vnus denar quod ipe idem Nathaniel Tindall als Grindall in manu sua dextra adtunc et

<sup>1</sup> Gaol Delivery Register, vol. 3, fol. 128 b :

*Cogn ss*

*Nathaniel Tindall als Grindall pro murthero Johanne Tindall als Grindall.*

The letters *ss* appear again in the margin, with the usual grim flourish and loop.

ibm huit et tenuit pfat Johanna Tindall als Grindall in et sup guttur ange the throate ipius Johanne adtunc et ibm felonice voluntar et ex malitia sua precogitat pcussit ange did strike dans eid Johanne Tindall als Grindall cu pd Cultello in et super guttur ipius Johanne vn plagam mortal ange one mortall wound longitud quatuor polliciu et pfunditat dimid pollicis Et qd pd Nathaniel Tindall als Grindall cu Cultello pd qd ipe in manua [sic] sua dextra adtunc et ibm huit et tenuit pfat Johanna in et sup pectus ppe sinistra mamilla ange the lefte dugg ipius Johanne adtunc et ibm felonice voluntar et ex malitia sua precogitat pupigit ange did stabb dans eid Johanne adtunc et ibm cu Cultello pd et sup pd pectus ppe dcam sinistram mamilla ipius Johanne vn mortal vulnus longitud dimid vnus pollicis et pfunditat duor polliciu de quo mortal vulnere in et sup pectus ipius Johanne ead Johanna adtunc et ibm instant obijt Et sic Juratores pd dicunt sup sacrm suu qd pd Nathaniel Tindall als Grindall pfat Johanna Tindall als Grindall pd nono die Aprilis Anno supd modo et forma pd apud Whitechappell pd in Com felonice voluntar et ex malitia sua pcogitat interfecit et murdravit Contra pace dci dni Regis nunc Coron et dignitat suas.

Armigell Seeler Tho. Mathewes Pss.<sup>1</sup>

It appears from this that Tindall assaulted a certain Joan Tindall with a knife of iron and steel, striking her in the throat and in the left breast. The second wound was mortal, and she died instantly. The jury returned a Bill of wilful murder. The words above the Bill were written after the trial and record the judgement. Expanded and translated, they run thus, 'having pleaded guilty, he was sentenced to be hanged near the house where he committed the murder'.

The Rolls occasionally contain records of Coroners' Inquests, but there is no record of an inquest upon Joan Tindall which might have given more detail, possibly even the motive, now lost to our knowledge.

But the unusual quality of the crime led to the production of two ballads, which are recorded in the Stationers' Registers.

<sup>1</sup> Sessions Rolls 636/88. Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records*, ii. 179, calendars this murder, dating the Bill 17 January 1625 instead of 3 September 1624. The Bill is misplaced among other documents pertaining to the later date. He also refers to it as a wife-murder, instead of matricide. The legal documents give no information on this point.

From these entries we learn that the murdered woman was Tindall's mother. The entries are as follows :

2. Julij 1624. Richard Hodgkins. *The repentance of NATHANAEL TINDALL that kil(le)d his mother . . .* vj<sup>d</sup>.  
 16<sup>th</sup> Septembris John Trundle Richard Hodgkins. Entred for their Copie  
 1624. vnder the handes of master Doctor Worrall and master Lownes Warden. . . . *A most bloody vnnaturall and vnmatchable murther Comitted in Whitechappell by NATHANAELL TINDALL vpon his owne mother* written by JOHN MORGAN. . . . vj<sup>d</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

(We shall meet with Hodgkins again in connexion with the ballad of *Keep the Widow Waking*.) The story was thus suitable for treatment in a play for the Red Bull. It was notorious enough, and horrible enough, to attract an audience avid of sensations, and to exercise the pen of a Dekker. For Dekker wrote part of *The Late Murder in Whitechapel*, as well as of *Keep the Widow Waking*, and from his reference to his share in it we learn with some additional sense of pain that Tindall was only a youth. The stage, we feel, might have spared him.

The documents give us very little information about the handling of this tragic story in the play. Of the two ballads, the first only is extant, and it gives no information about the crime.<sup>2</sup> But the question with which Garfield was concerned is naturally more fully dealt with, and we can reconstruct the version of the story of Anne Elsdon and Tobias Audley that formed the plot of the play of *Keep the Widow Waking*, as we shall see.

(To be concluded.)

<sup>1</sup> Arber, iv. 120, 123.

<sup>2</sup> Library of the Society of Antiquaries, *Broadsides James I-Charles I*, vol. 21, No. 243. It was 'Printed at London for John Trundle', and bears no date. The title is *The penitent Sonnes Teares, for his murdered Mother*, and it purports to be written 'By Nathaniel Tyndale, sicke both in soule and body: a prisoner now in New-gate'. The text, in heroic couplets, might apply to any repentant murderer, and is printed in the left-hand column. In the right-hand column is another murder-ballad. The sheet has a deep black surround, and several woodcuts illustrating both murders.

## TWO HITHERTO UNRECORDED EDITIONS OF *ROBINSON CRUSOE*

By H. C. HUTCHINS



STORIES of the discovery of rare and interesting books are so numerous that to add to the number, in many instances, is only to recount one's browsings in old book shops, and wanderings, perhaps, in out-of-the-way places. Often such stories merely serve to place on record one's own astuteness, or the lack of it on the part of some dealer. My writing now of two editions of *Robinson Crusoe* which have only recently come to light illustrates neither cleverness on my part, nor stupidity on another's, but the helpfulness and friendliness of a London book-dealer. It is an instance of the gospel that the author of *The Amenities of Book Collecting*, A. Edward Newton, Esq., is continually preaching—and I am sure he will not object to my quoting him—make some book-dealer your friend, and tell him your wants.

There is no need here to repeat the story of the publication of Defoe's masterpiece in April 1719, by William Taylor, at the Sign of the Ship in Paternoster Row. That the book was immediately popular, that it added to the name and fortune of its publisher, and that it was promptly pirated both at London and at Dublin are facts well known. In the course of a few months there were six separate printings of the book, bearing Taylor's imprint—four editions, designated on the title-page of each as the Second, Third, or Fourth Edition, as the case might be; and of two of these four editions, there were two separate issues, all octavo. In 1720 was published a Fifth Edition, and in 1722 a Sixth Edition, also octavo. Among the pirated editions the better known are the so-called 'O'

Edition, which has its name from the spelling 'Robeson Cruso' on the title-page, thought for a time to have preceded Taylor's first printing, or perhaps to have been a reprint of uncorrected proofs, or Defoe's trial copy, but really being set from a copy of the Second Issue of Taylor's Fourth Edition; the Amsterdam Coffee-House Edition, bearing the imprint 'Printed for T. Cox, at the Amsterdam Coffee-House near the Royal Exchange. 1719'; and the Dublin Piracy, printed at Dublin in 1719. By textual evidence, by the known dates of Taylor's numbered editions, and by means of advertisements in *The St. James Post* and *The Flying Post*, these piracies may be approximately dated. The so-called 'O' Edition appeared some time in the early fall, five or six months after Taylor's First Edition; the Amsterdam Coffee-House Edition appeared some time around 1 August 1719; while the Dublin Piracy, set up completely from a copy of the First Edition—one must allow time for the carriage of a copy to Dublin, and for getting the book through the press—appeared around the first of June 1719.

These are all editions, or piracies of Part I. Part II, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, is entered in the Register of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, London, on 17 August 1719, under the name of William Taylor, who owned the full share, as he did of the other parts. It was published, of course, shortly after—the date usually being given as 20 August 1719<sup>1</sup>—in an edition that is interesting bibliographically, because of its separate issues and variants. The Second Edition of Part II is also dated 1719. The Third and Fourth Editions, still bearing the imprint of William Taylor, are dated 1722. But *The Farther Adventures* did not go through as many editions as Part I, for we find in 1726 the

<sup>1</sup> Hermann Ullrich, *Robinson und Robinsonaden* (Weimar, 1898), 8; and William Lee, *A Chronological Catalogue of the Works of Defoe* (1869), 19. See also Lee, *Life and Newly Discovered Writings of Daniel Defoe*, I, xlii-xliii.

Fifth Edition of Part II, no longer with William Taylor's name on the title-page, for the copyright was purchased in 1724 by T. Woodward and W. Mears, being issued uniformly with a Seventh Edition of Part I. Part III, *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*, published first in 1720, was not reprinted until later, and does not here concern us.

I call attention to this edition-sequence of the First and Second Parts of *Robinson Crusoe*, and list the known pirated editions, for the two volumes, which as far as I know have not before been fully described, are definitely connected with two of the editions mentioned. One of these volumes is a companion to the Fourth Edition of Part II, a sixth duodecimo edition, not octavo, of Part I, dated 1722, of which the only previous records have been an obscure advertisement and a sales catalogue note. The second is another Dublin pirated edition, not of Part I only, but of Part II, for the single volume in contemporary calf contains a printing of *The Farther Adventures*, with separate title-page and separate pagination. Let us turn first to this Dublin Edition. Its complete collation follows :

The Dublin Piracy, *Robinson Crusoe*, Parts I and II.

The | LIFE | And | Strange Surprizing | ADVENTURES |  
Of | Robinson Crusoe, | Of York, Mariner : | Who lived Eight  
and Twenty Years, all | alone in an un-inhabited Island on  
the | Coast of America, near the Mouth of | the Great River  
of Oroonoque ; | Having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck,  
wherein | all the Men perished but himself. | WITH | An  
Account how he was at last as strangely deli- | ver'd by  
PYRATES. | [Rule] | *Written by Himself.* | [Rule] | DUBLIN :  
| Printed for J. Gill in High-street, J. Hyde in Dame-street,  
G. Grierson and R. Gunne in Essex-street, R. | Owen in Skinner-  
Row, E. Dobson Junior in Ca- | stle-street, and G. Risk, in  
Dame-street, Booksellers. | MDCCXIX. |



COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: A-R, each 8 leaves; S, 4 leaves; A-R, each 8 leaves; total 276 leaves (no signature J).

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: [title, as above, in double rule border], recto of [A];—[blank], verso of [A];— | [type ornament head-piece] | The | PREFACE. | , recto of A<sub>2</sub> to verso of A<sub>2</sub>;—[text, with heading] | [type ornament head-piece] | The | LIFE | And | ADVENTURES | Of | Robinson Crusoe; &c. | , pp. [5]—280;— | FINIS. | ;— | The Farther | ADVENTURES | Of | ROBINSON CRUSOE; | Being the Second and Last Part | Of His | LIFE, | And of the Strange Surprising | Accounts of his Travels | Round three Parts of the Globe. | [Rule] | *Written by Himself.* | [Rule] | To which is added a Map of the World, in which | is Delineated the Voyages of ROBINSON | CRUSOE. | [Rule] | Dublin: | Printed for J. Gill in *High-street*, J. Hyde in *Dame-street*, G. Grierson and R. Gunne in *Essex-street*, R. Owen in *Skinner-Row*, E. Dobson Junior in *Castle-street*, and G. Risk, in *Dame-street*, Booksellers. | MDCCXIX. | , recto of [A];—[blank], verso of [A];— | [type ornament head-piece] | The | PREFACE. | , recto of A<sub>2</sub> to verso of A<sub>2</sub> | [vignette] | ;—[text, with heading] | [type ornament head-piece] | The Farther | ADVENTURES OF | Robinson Crusoe, &c. | , pp. [5]—272;— | FINIS. | [Printer's ornament] | .

PLATE: Portrait of Robinson Crusoe; | *James Gwim Sculp.* | ; facing the title-page.

CONDITION: Size of leaf 9.7×15.5 mm. Contemporary calf.

This volume, in general appearance and typography, is much like the known Dublin Piracy of Part I. It is without advertisements and is printed with very little spacing between paragraphs, in a smaller type than that used by William Taylor for his editions. As in the first Dublin printing, there is frequent use of italics, as well as distinct changes in type. The most marked of these type-changes occurs between pages 159 and

160 of the second pagination, the verso of leaf K<sub>8</sub> being set in much smaller type.

Certain pages of the text are misnumbered. In the first pagination pages 149, 190, and 191 are wrongly numbered 497, 200, and 201, respectively. This printing of Part I presents a much neater appearance than the printing of Part II, for although only two pages of this second pagination are misnumbered, page 30 being numbered 31, while page 31 is numbered 30, the lineation is more uneven, with more frequent changes in type. In this second pagination, too, there are many leaves without signature designation, no mark appearing on the recto of leaves B<sub>3</sub>, C<sub>3</sub>, C<sub>4</sub>, D<sub>4</sub>, F<sub>3</sub>, F<sub>4</sub>, G<sub>3</sub>, G<sub>4</sub>, K<sub>3</sub>, K<sub>4</sub>, L<sub>3</sub>, L<sub>4</sub>, and M<sub>4</sub>. The recto of leaf B<sub>4</sub> is wrongly lettered B<sub>3</sub>, while O<sub>4</sub> appears as O<sub>3</sub>. The title-page of *The Farther Adventures* follows the title-page of Taylor's edition of Part II, and calls for a 'Map of the World', but no map was found in the copy examined. From the evident haste in printing, it is doubtful if the map were included.

The names of the Dublin printers and booksellers are the same as those which appear on the title-page of the other Dublin Piracy, with the single exception that the name of 'G. Risk, in Dame-street' has been added. I said 'booksellers and printers' advisedly, for from the evidence obtainable, some of the men whose names appear were engaged in both the printing and the bookselling business. George Grierson, of the King's Arms and Two Bibles in Essex Street, was King's Printer for Ireland from 1733 to 1745, succeeding Andrew Crooke. John Hyde was also both printer and bookseller, as the title-pages of some of the books and pamphlets printed by him attest. His edition of William Thompson's *A Poetical Paraphrase on Part of the Book of Job: in Imitation of the Style of Milton*, bears the imprint 'Dublin: Printed by and for J. Hyde, Bookseller, in Dame-Street, 1726'; while on the title-page of John Richardson's 'The Great Folly . . . of

Pilgrimages in Ireland', one may read: 'Dublin: Printed by J. Hyde, and sold by J. Leathley, Bookseller in Dame Street, 1727.'<sup>1</sup> Hyde was also the printer of a rare Dublin Piracy of *Gulliver's Travels*, in 1726, a single volume containing the four voyages, the imprint reading: 'DUBLIN: | Printed by and for J. HYDE, Book-seller in Dame's Street, 1726.' Hyde's title-page tells us further, that 'In this impression, several errors in the | London edition are corrected.' The name of J. Risk also appears on the title-page of a piracy of *Gulliver's Travels*, two volumes in one, in 1727, but not, however, as the printer, the imprint being: 'DUBLIN: | Printed by S. P. for G. RISK, G. EWING, | and W. SMITH in Dame's-street, | MDCCXXVII.'<sup>2</sup>

Robert Owen, in Skinner Row, who was well known, may also have been a printer.<sup>3</sup> E. Dobson's father, Eliphaz Dobson, was given comment in John Dunton's *Life and Errors*.<sup>4</sup> Neither does Matthew Gunne of the Bible and Crown, in Essex Street, presumably the father of Richard Gunne—if we may judge from the entries and the dates in the catalogue just referred to<sup>5</sup>—escape Dunton, who makes the obvious pun 'Son of a Gun', when he refers to Gunne, in 'Some Account of my Conversation in Ireland'.<sup>6</sup> That these men were asso-

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of the Bradshaw Collection of Irish Books in the Cambridge University Library*, i. 107. See also iii (Index), *ibid.*, for the listing of the others whose names appear, for their places of business and publications. Perhaps one may judge of the relative importance of those engaged in this enterprise from the number of items given to each. For J. Gill, in High Street, is listed two volumes; for John Hyde, in Dame Street, or Dame's Street, is listed 21; for Richard Gunne, in Essex Street, 22; for E. Dobson, junior, in Castle Street, 10; for Robert Owen, in Skinner Row, 22; for George Risk, in Dame's Street, 26; and for George Grierson, at the King's Arms and Two Bibles, in Essex Street, 84.

<sup>2</sup> See Harold Williams (editor), *Gulliver's Travels* (First Edition Club, London, 1926), xciii sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Bradshaw Collection*, i. 124, imprint: 'Dublin: Printed by R. Owen, Bookseller in Skinner-Row, M,DCC,XXXIX.'

<sup>4</sup> Ed. 1818, 238.

<sup>5</sup> *Bradshaw Collection*, i. 54 and 55.

<sup>6</sup> *Life and Errors*, ed. 1818, 550.

ciated together in the printing-bookselling business is further proved by such entries in the Bradshaw Catalogue<sup>1</sup> as that of Joseph Alleine's *An Alarm to Unconverted Sinners*, where at the end are two pages of 'Books printed for, and Sold by, J. Hyde, R. Gunne, R. Owen, and E. Dobson', and by many other listed books and pamphlets where the names appear together. Aaron Rhames, Printer to the Dublin Society, 1732, did much work for them, especially for the Dobsons, Hyde, Gunne, and Owen.<sup>2</sup> Whether it was Grierson, Hyde, or Owen who did the printing of this pirated edition of *Robinson Crusoe* is, for the present at least, not important. Sufficient that they were partners in an enterprise, which to judge from the second Dublin printing of *Robinson Crusoe* just recorded, must have been successful.

It is interesting when one comments upon these men, pirate publishers though they seem, to note that they were also enterprising and (in the case of some at least) reputable booksellers. Not only in this volume have they reprinted verbatim the preface of Taylor's first edition, as was done in the earlier Dublin printing of Part I, but they have also included the preface to Part II. One will recall Taylor's censure, in this preface, of the booksellers in London who were pirating and abridging *Robinson Crusoe*:

'The Injury these Men do the Proprietor of this Work, is 'a Practice all honest Men abhor; and he believes he may 'challenge them to shew the Difference between that and 'Robbing on the Highway, or Breaking open a House.'

There is, however, more to be seen from the printing of this preface, than the amusing paradox of Dublin bookseller-printers censuring themselves. This preface, together with the text, is important in helping us to date this edition. It is logical to assume that the printing of Part I of *Robinson Crusoe* for this edition was merely a resetting of the first Dublin Piracy.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, i. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Bradshaw Collection*, i. 114-15.

This first Dublin Piracy of Part I, as I have said, probably appeared around the first of June 1719, a date which is approximated by the fact that it was set up completely from a copy of Taylor's first edition.

Now *The Farther Adventures* did not appear until 20 August 1719, and a second edition appeared this same year. Of Taylor's first edition of Part II, there were two issues, making three printings of this book before the year was out. The First Issue of the First Edition is generally distinguishable by a uniformly printed text, and by the fact that the verso of leaf A<sub>4</sub> of the preface is blank. The Second Issue of this First Edition is distinguishable by marked changes in the text type and page numbers, and by the fact that the verso of leaf A<sub>4</sub> of the preface is not blank, but contains an advertisement 'Just Published, the 4th Edition' (of Part I) and a 'N.B.' warning to the public of the T. Cox abridgement.

The prefaces to these two issues are not identical. They correspond line for line and are the same even to variations in type and lineation until the last page, the recto of A<sub>4</sub>, is reached. There occur the first differences. The First Issue, at line 2 of this page, has *breaking* as against *Breaking* in the Second Issue. At lines 7-8, the First Issue Preface reads: *Punish-ment and : He*, while the Second Issue has: *Punish-ment : And he*; and finally, at line 9, the reading of the First Issue is *wanting*, while in the Second Issue there is no comma after *wanting*. The setting of this preface in the Dublin Piracy agrees with that of Taylor's First Edition, First Issue.

And the text of this Dublin Piracy of Part II was set from a copy of Taylor's earliest printing. The reading of Taylor's First Issue, 'There was also the two Carpenters'—page 139, line 12—is corrected in the Second Issue to 'There were also the two carpenters', but the Dublin Piracy (page 106, line 25) agrees with Taylor's First Issue. Again, on page 231, lines 3-4, and 33-4, the readings of Taylor's First Issue 'that not

an | *Indian* that', and 'all that came that | way' have been corrected in his Second Issue to 'that not an | *Indian* who', and 'all who came that | Way', evidently to remedy the repetition of the word *that*. In this Dublin printing, page 171, lines 15 and 41, Taylor's First Issue has been followed, and so throughout.<sup>1</sup>

This second Dublin printing, therefore, allowing, too, for the time necessary for carriage of a copy to Dublin and for getting the sheets through the press, may safely be dated some time toward the end of September 1719. It would be interesting to establish more definitely these conjectural dates by a search for advertisements in the news-sheets of the time, but these have not been available.

No London piracy of *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* alone has turned up, though of course Part II appears in the abridgements of the work, as does, too, excerpts from *Serious Reflections*. T. Cox, of the Amsterdam Coffee-House, reprinted Part I only. The 'O' Edition is of Part I. This Dublin pirated edition, containing a second printing of Part I, is unique, and is important bibliographically in containing the first piracy of the Second Part. Its appearance tends to estab-

<sup>1</sup> A partial comparison of the texts for a single signature must suffice to show how completely this Dublin edition is like Taylor's First Issue of the Second Part. The readings and references given first are for Taylor's Second Issue, the second readings are for Taylor's First Issue, and the Dublin Piracy, but the references are to the Dublin text. Page 1, line 12 'experience'—'Experience' (5.13); 3.5 'Stir'—'Stirr' (6.27); 3.10 'poring'—'poreing' (6.31); 4.3 'murder'—'murther' (7.15); 4.10 'persuaded'—'perswaded' (7.20); 5.8 'rosolv'd'—'resolv'd' (8.9); 5.18 'Hindrance'—'Hinderance' (8.18); 6.15 'occur'd'—'occurr'd' (9.6); 6.26 'Country'—'County' (9.14); 7.20 'earnestly'—'early' (9.39); 8.33 'Strugglings'—'Struggles' (10.34); 9.2 'where'—'were' (11.1); 10.8 'Life'—'Life,' (11.33); 11.2 'wandring'—'Wandering' (12.15); 12.23 'persuade'—'perswade' (13.22); 15.4 'their'—'there' (15.10); 15.5 'man'—'m[M]ann' (15.11); 15.28 'where'—'were' (15.31); 16.1 'sat out'—'set out' (15.38); 16.15 'shew'd'—'show'd' (16.11); 17.24 'hung out'—'hang'd out' (17.9).

lish, as do the many continental imitations of Defoe's masterpiece, the popularity of *The Farther Adventures*.

The finding of the copy of the Sixth Duodecimo Edition of *The Life and Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* is another instance of the turning up of a book which hitherto had been known only through an obscure advertisement. A recent instance of this sort is that of the *Gazette Française*, a little four-page French newspaper, published for the enlightenment and entertainment of the men of the French Fleet in American waters during the American Revolution, which had been known only through advertisements, and because no copy has been found, investigators had concluded that probably the paper had never actually been published. A file of this journal, filled with the news of 1780, including the treasonable proclamation issued by Benedict Arnold, and other items of historic interest, was found in the possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society.<sup>1</sup>

This Sixth Duodecimo Edition of the First Part of *Robinson Crusoe* was published uniformly with a Fourth Edition, so designated on the title-page, also duodecimo, of the Second Part, *The Farther Adventures*. This latter volume has been known for some years, there being a copy in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> Both volumes are mentioned in the advertisement referred to, which appeared in the *Post Boy* of 5-7 June 1722. 'Published this day', it reads, 'in Elzevir letter *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, in 2 vols. 12mo. 14 copper plates. The Sixth Edition.' Reference to this duodecimo edition is also made on page two of the William Taylor Sales Catalogue—'Robinson Crusoe, in 2 vol. 8vo. and

<sup>1</sup> The Grolier Club of New York has just announced, through the generous permission of the Rhode Island Historical Society, the publication of a reprint of the *Gazette Française*.

<sup>2</sup> Recently, a complete set of the two volumes has been added to the Hubbard Collection of Imaginary Voyages, in the Library of the University of Michigan.



12mo. with Cuts'. A copy of this catalogue is in the possession of Longmans, Green & Co., whose founder, Thomas Longman, began business at the Ship and Black Swan in Paternoster Row. Its heading reads: 'At the Queen's Head Tavern in *Pater-Noster-Row*, on *Thursday*, the 3d of *Febr.* 1725. exactly at *Ten* in the Morning, (At one of the clock the company will be entertained with a good Dinner) The following Copies and Parts of Copies Of the Late Mr. W. Taylor, Will be disposed of by Auction to the Highest Bidder, 'in 88 Lots. . . .'<sup>1</sup>

The complete collation of this Sixth Duodecimo Edition follows:

The | LIFE, | And Strange Surprising | ADVENTURES |  
Of | Robinson Crusoe, | Of *YORK*, Mariner: | who lived  
eight and twenty Years all alone | in an un-inhabited Island  
on the coast of *America*, | near the mouth of the Great River  
*Oroonogue*; ha-|ving been cast on Shore by Shipwreck,  
wherein all the Men perished but himself. | With an  
ACCOUNT how he was at last as strang-|ly deliver'd by  
PYRATES. | [Rule] | *Written by Himself.* | [Rule] | The  
SIXTH EDITION Adorned with Cuts. | [Rule] | In Two  
Vol. | [Rule] | [Vignette of a Ship] | [Rule] | London: Printed  
for *W. Taylor*, at the *Ship* and | *Black-Swan*, in *Pater-Noster-Row*. MDCCXXII. |

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: <sup>2</sup> [A], 2 leaves; B-N, each 8 leaves; O, 4 leaves; total 150 leaves (no signature J).

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: <sup>3</sup> [title, as above], recto of [A];

<sup>1</sup> A photostat copy of this catalogue has been kindly furnished me by C. J. Longman, Esq.

<sup>2</sup> Signatures F, G, H, K, and L seem to be printed on heavier paper than the rest of the volume. Leaf H<sub>3</sub> appears as H<sub>2</sub>, the latter signature mark appearing twice.

<sup>3</sup> Pages 145, 160, 161, 164, 165, and 195 are misnumbered 106, 168, 169, 172, 173, and 147, respectively.

—[blank], verso of [A];— | [conventional head-piece] | The | PREFACE. | , recto and verso of [A<sub>2</sub>] | [printer's ornament] | ; —[text, with heading] | [head-piece] | The | LIFE | And | ADVENTURES | Of | ROBINSON CRUSOE, &c. | , pp. [1] —294 ; — | FINIS. | [type ornament] | [publisher's advertisement, 9 lines] | [ornament] | , p. 294 .— | [type ornament head-piece] | [publisher's advertisement], pp. [295]—[296].

PLATES. Eight plates, including the frontispiece, engraved by Clark, and a folding map, as follows :

Facing the title-page : | Robinson Crusoe as describ'd. Page 176 Vol. I. *Put this before y<sup>e</sup> Title.* | .

Facing page 1, folding map, with inscription : | A MAP of the WORLD, on w<sup>ch</sup> is Delineated the Voyages | of ROBINSON CRUSOE | Fronting the title of the II. Vol. | , in two hemispheres ; size 17.4 × 14.9 cms. ; scale 14.9 mm. = 180° of longitude at the equator. This map shows | *R. Crusoes I.* | at the mouth of the | *R. Oroonoque* | .

Facing page 11 : | *R. Crusoe Shipwreckt at Yarmouth. Vol. I, Page 11, Clark &c. Sc.* | .

Facing page 28 : | *R. Crusoe & his boy Xury on the Coast of Guinny shooting a Lyon. Vol. I. P. 28.* | .

Facing page 48 : | *R. Crusoe saving his Goods out of the Wreck of the Ship. Vol. I. P. 48.* | .

Facing page 195 : | *R. Crusoe rescues his Man Friday and Kills his Pursuers. Vol. I. Page 195.* | .

Facing page 241 : | *An English Ship comes to R. Crusoes Island. Vol. I. P. 241.* | .

Facing page 260 : | *R. Crusoe recovers the Ship for the Capt<sup>a</sup>. and Conquers the Pyrates. Vol. I. P. 260.* | .

CONDITION : Size of leaf 16.3 × 9.8 mm. Contemporary calf.

William Taylor's octavo editions stopped with his Sixth Edition of Part I, also dated 1722, the companion volume to his Third Edition of *The Farther Adventures*, of 1722. These are,

presumably, the volumes referred to in the advertisement on page 294 of the edition just described: 'The Life and strange surprising Ad-ventures of *Robinson Crusoe*, printed in a large character, in 2 Vol. 8vo, a-dorned with Cuts.—His serious Reflec-tions on his Life and Adventures, with | his Vision of the Angelick World; writ-|ten during his Solitude in the Island, in 8vo. Printed for *W. Taylor*, at the *Ship* | and *Black-Swan*, in *Pater-Noster-Row*. |.' Taylor's Sixth Octavo Edition of Part I, unlike the earlier printings of the text and unlike the Third Edition of Part II, has its title-page printed in red and black. This Sixth Octavo Edition has no map, but has the first appearance of the plates just described. It would seem to be the Fifth Edition of 1720 with a new title-page and with the plates instead of the map. Indeed, a check-list of readings shows the texts of the Fifth and Sixth Octavo Editions the same, even to the duplication of misspellings and of certain words. The Third Edition of *The Farther Adventures* follows the Second Issue of Taylor's First Edition. It, too, contains the map, and the first appearance of the illustrations for the Second Part.

It has long been the conjecture of Professor William P. Trent, of Columbia University, that in 1722, certainly by 1726, the text of *Robinson Crusoe* was gone over by some one. In the Seventh Edition of Part I, of 1726, published in that same year with the Fifth Edition of Part II by the purchasers of William Taylor's copyright, W. Mears and T. Woodward, many homely expressions were either eliminated or changed. These alterations resulted in a marked increase in the sophistication of the style.<sup>1</sup> An interesting question of authorship here presents itself. Who was it who went over the text of *Robinson Crusoe* and made its style more elegant? Was it

<sup>1</sup> A more complete statement of Professor Trent's conjecture may be found in my *Robinson Crusoe and its Printing* (Columbia University Press, 1925), note 4, p. 119.

William Taylor, Defoe himself, or some one else. Thomas Gent, the famous York printer, perhaps, who has confessed his share in an abridgement of *Robinson Crusoe* in 1722, made for his master, Edward Midwinter?<sup>1</sup> That this Sixth Duodecimo Edition of 1722 (Part I) differs materially from the Sixth Octavo Edition, and all previous printings, is apparent at a glance. In a forthcoming article Dr. L. L. Hubbard has compared in detail this duodecimo edition of Part I with the octavo edition of the same year, and has reached the conclusion that not only has some intelligent critic made important alterations in the text of *Robinson Crusoe*, but that Defoe himself had nothing to do with them, or, as a matter of fact, with any earlier ones. Other than to say that this text-meddler was not Defoe, Dr. Hubbard advances no clue as to his identity.

The companion volume of this Sixth Duodecimo Edition, the Fourth Edition of the Second Part, containing the map and plates, has for its title-page:

The Farther | ADVENTURES | Of | ROBINSON CRUSOE ; | Being the Second and Last Part | OF His | LIFE, | And of the strange surprising | Account of his TRAVELS | Round three Parts of the Globe. | [Rule] | *Written by Himself.* | [Rule] | The Fourth Edition, Adorned with Cuts. | [Rule] | [Vignette of a Ship] | London : | Printed for W. Taylor, at the *Ship and Black Swan* | in *Pater-Noster-Row*. MDCCXXII. |

This volume, too, is of the utmost rarity, no other copies being known outside of the one in the British Museum and that in the Hubbard Collection at the University of Michigan.

It must be remembered that the 1726 editions of Parts I and II were duodecimo editions. This newly discovered Sixth Edition of Part I is also a duodecimo. The Sixth Octavo Edition, the same as the Fifth Octavo, exhausted the octavo sheets.

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Mr. Thomas Gent, Printer, of York; Written by Himself* (London, 1832), 122-3.

First, then, in 1722, and for many years afterwards, almost entirely, *Robinson Crusoe* appeared in 12mo. The chances are that the duodecimo editions of Mears and Woodward were set from duodecimos then in print. The relationship between these duodecimo editions of 1722 and those of 1726, the Seventh and Fifth Editions of Parts I and II, the relationship between the Fourth Edition of Part II, 1722, and previous printings of the text, and finally, the identity of the author of the text-changes, remain to be determined.

## THE LIBRARY OF DOVER PRIORY :

### ITS CATALOGUE AND EXTANT VOLUMES

By C. R. HAINES, M.A., B.D., F.S.A.



DOVER Priory was founded in 1136 by William Corbeuil, Archbishop of Canterbury, with the co-operation of Henry I, who granted a charter for the new convent to be built outside Dover in place of the establishment of Secular Canons at St. Martin's le Grand in the town itself. The house was to be one of Augustinian Canons regular, and it was endowed with all the prebends and revenues of the older establishment, which included a tithe of the herrings caught on the coast and other tolls of the port of Dover. Unfortunately, when the buildings were just ready for occupation, and Corbeuil had sent an abbot and monks from the monastery of St. Osyth in Essex, of which he had been prior, to take possession, he died. The See being vacant, the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, of which the archbishop was titular head, claiming that the new priory had been given to the church of Canterbury and not to the archbishop only, prevented the new canons from taking possession, and finally, when Theobald succeeded to the Archbishopric, by his connivance and Henry II's grant, backed up by a bull from the pope, they altered the condition of the new abbey to that of a priory of Benedictine monks, and made it dependent upon themselves. This was a cause of quarrel between the two houses for 200 years, when at last, being the more powerful and richer community, they forced the Dover Priory to become a mere cell of their convent. The number of monks in the priory was always small, and varied between 12 and 16.

For a monastery of this size the library, of which we have

a remarkable catalogue still extant, was unusually large and interesting. Its contents have been brought to the public notice in an excellent work by Dr. M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 1903. The Bodleian MS. 920 contains this catalogue in a triple form, giving first the number and titles of the volumes, which total 450; secondly, the same volumes with the names and titles of the various supplementary tracts included in each volume, bringing the whole up to about 1,500 works; and finally, the index, an alphabetical list of all the works contained in the library. Dr. James only printed the first two of these, but the third has a considerable interest of its own, as it supplements the others in many cases, and enables us to correct one or two errors in the other lists, as transcribed in Dr. James's book. It will not be without advantage, therefore, to go somewhat into detail about the library, making use to the full extent of the alphabetical list, not only as a guide to the nature of the manuscripts registered in it, but also as throwing light on the principles of cataloguing books, which were in vogue at the time, and the honour in which this precentor and librarian at all events held them.

This catalogue in its three parts consists of ii + 204 folios of parchment, and is dated 1389. It had suffered somewhat from wear and tear and damp, when it was bound, not very skilfully, in the seventeenth century, on being acquired by the Bodleian. The compiler and writer was John Whitefelde, precentor and librarian of Dover Priory, of whom little more is known than that he did this fine piece of work by reason of his own love of books and learning, besides serving the interests of his monastery by writing two other records for his brethren. One is the important Cartulary of the priory, which is at Lambeth (MS. 241). He was assisted in this work by Robert de Welle, with help from Thomas of Canterbury, the sub-



prior, and at the cost of John Newenham, the prior. The date of this, viz. 1372, is given in a preface similar to the prefaces of our Catalogue. The *munimenta* of the convent are enumerated, docketed, and endorsed, so that each document can easily be found. Those which had been carried off by the French in their raid of 1295 are replaced as far as possible by copies. It is directed that this valuable volume should be chained in a suitable, albeit secret, place, where the monks could consult it. But its contents were not to be divulged to any but professed members of the monastery.

The other record (Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 335) is a list of the *munimenta, iura, possessiones, et consuetudines* of the brethren and sisters of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew for poor Lepers, drawn up by the same persons. The hospital had been founded by Osbern and Godwyne, two monks of the priory in 1141 (probably), on land belonging to the convent, under the patronage of Theobald, the archbishop. Nothing else is known of Whitefelde outside the facts connected with the library, except that he was in Rome in 1380-1, when he wrote a book (as a colophon tells us) now in the Canterbury Cathedral Library (E. 3), viz. the *Expositio sive glosa regule b. Benedicti*, by Ildemarus, a French writer of the tenth century, which is said to be the best commentary on the subject.

Whitefelde was also the compiler of many or most, if not all, of the eighty *Tabulae, Tituli, Capitula*, and suchlike indexes, tables of contents, and chapter-headings, added to various books, to ten of which his name<sup>1</sup> is attached. These do not come into Catalogue, Part i, and are not noticed in the alphabetical list, appearing only in Part ii. His name, as donor or owner, appears after the following books: The older *Digest* (2 copies), the *New Digest*, *Codex* of jurists, and *Insti-*

<sup>1</sup> This is written in thirteen ways in the fifty or so instances where it occurs, varying from *W* to *Whitefelde* or *Whytefelde*, the only possible form omitted being *Wb*.

tutes, St. John's Gospel glossed, notes of Sermons, an Abridgement of the Golden Legends, *Pars Oculi* (? *Oculus Sacerdotis* by W. de Pacula), *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, Life of Becket, Brito's dictionary, abstracts of Saxo, and On Ten Decretals, with the 4th Book of the *Sentences* and the moral Eclogues of Theodolus. Besides these there is a book (apparently in two parts) called the *Spolia Latrunculi*, 'the spoils of a footpad', which is possibly a work of Whitefelde himself. The title may be a humorous one. It can hardly refer to the game of draughts.

We see what a conscientious and enthusiastic librarian Whitefelde must have been from his triple presentment of the Catalogue, the careful system he elaborated for numbering, classifying, and identifying the individual books, together with the trouble he took to provide indexes and tables of contents, not to mention the gift of so many books transcribed or procured by himself. This will best appear if we now subjoin the Prefaces to Parts i and ii of the Catalogue, the third part having no Preface. These are newly translated for this purpose. The Latin, in which they are written, is rather cumbersome, and it is not always easy to express the meaning clearly.

The Catalogue (Bodl. MS. 920) itself is described in the preface as *Hec matricula bibliotece prioratus Doverre*, in Part i as *Matricula Johannis Whytefeld*, in Part ii as *Matricula J. Whyteff*, and in Part iii, f. 165, as *Matricula librorum bibliotece Dover*. At the end of the first portion of Preface i the title is given as *A. 1. Matricula Johannis Whytefeld—cionis dicetur*, the last two words forming the *locus probationis* on f. 2. The book stood first on the first shelf of the first bookcase or division of books.

## DOVER PRIORY LIBRARY

*Preface to Part I of Catalogue*

The present Catalogue of the Library of Dover Priory, drawn up in the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1389 under the rule of John Neunam (= *Newenham*), prior<sup>1</sup> of the same Church, and a professed member of it, is here set forth separated into three main sections. This you are to know is done that the first part may give the precentor information as to the number of the Volumes, and accurately indicate to him their position, that the second may incite studious Brethren to read them eagerly and frequently, and that the third may point out to the Scholars speedy ways for finding individual Treatises. And although there is placed before each Part, for the better understanding of it, a short special introduction, yet to this first Portion in particular, for a clearer knowledge of the whole Catalogue, there are prefixed certain notes of a general character:

In the first place that the whole of this Library is divided into nine separate Compartments<sup>2</sup> (*Distinciones*), corresponding to the nine first letters of the Alphabet plainly affixed to the Compartments themselves in such a way that A points out to any one who enters (the room) the First Compartment, B the Second, C the Third, and so successively in order. Each one of the aforesaid nine Compartments, it will be seen, is separated into seven shelves (or 'steps', *gradus*), themselves also distinguished by the addition of roman numerals, placed after the letters which denote the Compartments. We begin counting the shelves from the bottom, and mount upwards in such a way, namely, that the bottom shelf, which is our first, is marked thus 'I', the second thus 'II', the third 'III', the enumeration being similarly carried on up to the number 'VII'.

Furthermore the books of this Library, for the easier perusal of the Volumes, have their separate leaves marked with arabic numerals. Since, however, many of the Volumes contain more than one Treatise, the titles of these Treatises, although they have not all been appropriately named, are set down under the several Volumes, and an arabic numeral, denoting on which leaf the actual Treatise begins, is added next with the letter 'a' or 'b' immediately attached: the 'a' of course to show in this case the first page of the leaf, and the 'b' the second.

Moreover, the separate volumes themselves, not only on the cover outside, but also within, side by side with the Table of Contents at the beginning of each, have their own Compartment Letters, and in addition their Shelf-marks. And in such Compartment Letters is marked a small arabic numeral, by which is more fully shown what position that book holds in the order of placing on the

<sup>1</sup> Prior from 1372 to 1392.

<sup>2</sup> Or *Bookcases* or *Classes*.

shelf concerned. On the second or third or fourth leaf of the books, or thereabouts, on the lower margin is set down the title of the book, preceded again by the Compartment Letter and Shelf-mark. There, after a small gap, are immediately inscribed the first words of that leaf, which may be called the 'proof of identification'. The next arabic numeral then following will declare the number of leaves in the whole of that particular volume; and finally another numeral figure, placed immediately after the last, shows clearly the number of Treatises contained in the said Volume.

The preceding details, then, being firmly committed to a retentive memory, it will be abundantly clear in what Compartment, Shelf, Place, and Order each Volume in the entire Library ought to be put, and on which leaf or page of the leaf are to be found the beginnings of the several Treatises.

It has been the wish herein of the compiler of this present Catalogue and arranger of the Library, by setting forth such various marks and notations of Compartments, Shelves, Order, References, Treatises, and Volumes, to insure as far as he could his monastery from future loss, and to block the way against the malice of such as might harbour a wish to carry off and barter away a treasure of such a kind, and to set up, as a safeguard, a barrier of defence and resistance.

And verily will the man not offend the compiler, but manifestly show his love for him, whoever shall think it necessary to bring into better order this Catalogue, which is in many respects still faulty, even if he wish to take the whole credit of it to himself.

A. i. Catalogue of Johannis Wythefeld—*cionis dicetur.*

In this first Part therefore of the Catalogue, at the top between the black lines, which are ruled horizontally, there is all through placed first the Compartment Letter in red, followed by the Shelf-mark in black, character. But between the other red lines from top to bottom, taking first those which are ruled on the left, is set down firstly a numeral figure, showing what is the Place of the book in its order on the Shelf; secondly is added the number of the Volume; thirdly the number of the identity page; fourthly the identifying words—these, by the by, must refer to the text and not to a gloss; fifthly the number of leaves in the whole Volume; and finally the number of treatises which it contains—all these being inscribed in the aforesaid lines. Moreover, in each Shelf of this part of the Catalogue there will be left at the end some vacant spaces, where may be set down the names of Volumes to be acquired subsequently.

#### *Preface to Part II*

This second Part of the Catalogue, which follows, is here drawn up in similar fashion to the first by having, set down at the side, the Compartments and Shelves, the Titles and Enumeration of the Books and their Order, and the

leaving of vacant spaces. Since, however, certain volumes, over and above the title or names ascribed to them, have more and maybe more valuable contents, which would lie hidden to the great disadvantage of students, unless they could be assisted by the help of the Precentors, who are more especially concerned with this Catalogue—in view of this fact, then, there is prefixed to each Volume (the chief title and notation being added as before) a mark of this sort, CC, to make the finding of the volumes more plain and easy, and to separate and distinguish them more fully from the other contents,<sup>1</sup> which are immediately to be subjoined below. The several Volumes and their Contents, under separate and individual titles, though in some cases the designations affixed to them by our actual predecessors are not always happily chosen, are detailed in order in the space that follows next after the aforesaid enumeration. To each several title we attach numeral figures to point out precisely on which leaf of the Volume, while the letters which immediately succeed this enumeration point out on which side of the leaf, each tract begins; i. e. by 'a' is meant in every case the first page and by 'b' the second.

Further, wishing to escape the damaging charge of presumptuousness, while nowhere changing the actual name of a Volume or of its Contents, even if it is inapplicable, we have thought fit to set out the beginnings of each work or treatise, by means of its first two or three words, in the last space on the page. And so the Reader, endowed with sense and discretion, when he has noted the names and opening words of the Volumes, and of the other Treatises which they contain, and carefully scrutinized them, will, when place and time serve, be able to apply to them the file of revision, and give his attention to the better naming of the Treatises, or at all events to the devising more accurate titles for them, to the advantage of students.

N.B.—The Third Part of the Catalogue which is in alphabetical order has no separate Preface.

As has been already noted Part i contains, with some additions in a later hand, a total of 450 volumes in the library, and Part ii gives the titles of the same volumes in the same order, but goes on to enumerate further the separate contents of each volume, some of which have as many as thirty or more tracts bound up together, these being generally on similar subjects. It also adds the first words of the book, an indispensable piece of information, for in many cases a treatise

<sup>1</sup> i. e. besides the one which gives its title to the whole volume, and this need not be the one that comes first in it.

cannot be identified except by its opening words, which also sometimes form its only title. Part i gives the identification words and the folio on which they occur, this being usually from the 2nd to the 6th, but sometimes later folios, such as the 10th or 14th, occasionally even the 20th or so, and once the 45th. It also gives the number of folios in the whole volume, and the number of tracts it contains, together with the folio on which each begins. If we omit, as not integral works, the 60 Indexes and such like aids to the reader, added perhaps by Whitefelde himself, the total number of books or tracts enumerated (if we combine the data in all the Parts) work out at about 1500.<sup>1</sup> Of these 43 are not entered in Part iii, the alphabetical list, being as the handwriting shows, subsequent additions. But apart from these nearly 100 other titles are omitted accidentally or otherwise, some 17 or so of which may be put down to the unaccountable gap of half a page, left blank on f. 174, between *Pauperum* and *Petrus*. Here would have come the four copies of the *Periarmenias liber*, entered in Part ii, which seems to have been a favourite book, certain tracts on Penitence, Original Sin, and the seven mortal sins, which two last would be listed under *Peccatum*.

From the description given in the Prefaces it is clear that the books were arranged in a separate room (used for that purpose), probably not a library properly so-called, as Dr. James writes to me in a private letter, but a bookroom off the cloister. There were nine *Distinctions*, or separate blocks for the books, marked A to I, each with seven shelves (*Gradus*). The shelves contained a varying number of volumes, from 3 or 4 at the beginning of the Catalogue to 10 or 12, and occasionally 17 or 18. It is not known how the bookcases

<sup>1</sup> The folios might run to 60,000. The volume which has the most pages (excluding Bibles) is Peter de Tarantasia's (Innocent V) Glosses on St. Paul's Epistles. The volume which has the most tracts is no. 355, *Rogerinus de phisica*, with 36 in all (medical).

were placed, but probably against the wall. The books were arranged more or less according to subjects, as follows :

- A. Contained Bibles, and separate books of the Bible, annotated.
- B. The *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, Aquinas, and others ; the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor ; and on Shelf vii St. Paul's Epistles and the Acts, annotated.
- C. On Shelf i a somewhat miscellaneous set of books, added later ; on the other shelves, Sermons ; devotional books, including many of the works of Augustine, Isidore, St. Bernard, and others ; general Theology, with a work of Cicero and one of Seneca.
- D. Lives of Saints, devotional works of Gregory, Jerome, and others, with one of the Library's two copies of Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis*.
- E. Sermons and devotional works, with several on the Benedictine Rule, but Shelf i (of added books) is much more heterogeneous in character. It contains the curious *Spolia latrunculi*, mentioned above, and also Vegetius, *de Re Militari*, and the *Chronicles* of the Priory.
- F. The Digest, Codex, and Institutes of Roman Law, followed by very many works on the Decretals and Canon Law.
- G. Statutes, Laws, and Customs of the Realm, with more works on the Canon Law, Constitutions, and the Clementines.
- H. Logic, Philosophy, Poetry, Rhetoric ; an immense number of medical books ; together with *Chronicles*, English History, and Romances.
- I. Grammar, Classics (chiefly Poets), and Dictionaries.

It is somewhat of a pity that Dr. James did not see his way to printing Part iii of our Catalogue, as it would have served, though imperfectly, for an index to the Books, which has in consequence to be laboriously constructed, as a guide to the contents of the whole library. The alphabetical list



of Whitefelde is, however, not very scientifically arranged; for while the works of a single writer, like Augustine, are put more or less consecutively under his name, yet stray entries relating to him are to be found in other parts of the Catalogue. The true principles of indexing, as a guide to the reader, have not been fully grasped. It is absurd to classify different authors and subjects under such terms as *Glosa*, *Vita*, *Tractatus*, or *Liber*. Some of the inconveniences thus caused are indeed obviated by numerous cross-references, but it is the faulty method which necessitates most of these. One of the first entries, *Abbatis Makarii*, has to come again under *Makarii*. *Alphabetum Papie* is absurd for *Papie Alphabetum*, unless indeed the work was generally known as *Alphabetum*.

A capital S, of which the significance is not obvious, is found 32 times before and 8 times after a title, being attached in some cases merely to cross-references. It is difficult to detect any principle in its use, but one notices that several works on England are thus distinguished, as well as the *Sermon on the dedication of a (or the) Church*,<sup>1</sup> and the *Dover Cronicon ab origine Mundi*.

Before eight entries, three of which are cross-references, a hand is sketched pointing to them, a device we find also in Whitefelde's *Expositio Regule secundum b. Benedictum* mentioned above. The most interesting item thus distinguished is perhaps one of the greatest enigmas in the Catalogue, viz. *Ovidius de parte Gamedis*, with its opening words *Cur vitare uelim*. These do not begin any genuine poem of Ovid's. Had Ovid written a poem on Ganymede, such as Claudian's *de raptu Proserpinae*, we might have conjectured *de raptu Ganymedis*. But the words are quite clear in both parts of the Catalogue (ii and iii). Nor do these words begin any poem of Maximianus, the pseudo-Gallus of the sixth century A.D., who is bracketed as an alternative with Ovid in Cat. ii, no.

<sup>1</sup> The Church of Dover Priory was dedicated on 19 October 1160.

440. But what, anyhow, can *Gamedis* mean? Dr. Alton of Dublin, than whom there is no greater authority on the manuscripts of Ovid, suggested to me that the poem intended might be found in the spurious *De betula*, attributed to Ovid,<sup>1</sup> parts only of which appear to have been printed. It contains 'a vast amount of medieval lore, mathematics, theology, Sibylline prophecies', &c., and the title seems to be taken from Bede: <sup>2</sup> *extirpanda est haeresis vetularum quae iurant in partes Dei*.

About seventy entries have a dot placed before them, but no particular significance seems to attach to these items. Missing volumes, thirteen in number, have *caret* before them, and *vacat* is found thrice in Cat. i, and once in Cat. iii. A borrower, no doubt a monk, is pilloried in Cat. i (no. 323) as the loser of *Phisonomica Aristotelis* by the note *perditus per J. Chilton*, and another book, *Dieta Salutis* (Cat. i, no. 93), is noted as lost by a certain J. Yngilwode. Sometimes we are told that the book is in the hands of the Prior, J. Newenham, no doubt. Five books are stigmatized as valueless, one having *quia nichil valet*, another *nihil valet*, appended to the curious word *Mustardier* or *Mostardyer*, apparently not found elsewhere. Dr. James suggests that it means 'fit only to wrap up mustard', a commodity much used in monasteries. The word is twice put instead of the title of the work, but we can gather from its position on the shelves that one of the books would be a biblical, and the other an ecclesiastical work. The other three are medical works by Fulbert, Alexander, and Nicholas respectively. No doubt books of these two classes were very much in demand, and the works mentioned may have been worn out by repeated use. It is not likely that books by such well-known writers could have been considered as

<sup>1</sup> See Libr. of St. Aug. Abbey, Cant. 951, in Dr. James's *Ancient Libraries*, p. 298. Dr. Alton is now more doubtful as to this.

<sup>2</sup> In Boeth., *de Trinitate*. I have to thank Dr. Alton for this note.

useless in themselves. The Alphabetical Catalogue does not use the term *mustardier* at all, and the first two entries above-mentioned cannot therefore be traced in Cat. iii.

The alphabetical list helps us in some cases to correct or supplement the information given in the other two Parts. For instance, in D. vii. 7, f. 203b (Cat. ii. 170) the unintelligible Mrōnū in Dr. James's transcript comes out quite easily as *Orationum* (Orōnū). Again, the entry in Cat. ii, no. 103, *Ancelmus in Meditacione ad benedictionem*, is shown by Cat. iii to be correctly *ad bñ Benedictum*. Under 386 Cats. i and ii have *de derivacione*, where Cat. iii reads *divinacione*. In A. iii. 8, 1a (Part ii, no. 17) *Ars* for *Pars* is clearly right in Cat. iii: so with *Bacharius* in Cat. iii, where Cat. ii, no. 116 has *Macarius*.

Apart from the puzzling hiatus on f. 174 no lacunas have to be indicated, except in one or two cases where a faint trace of underlining shows that we have to do with a cross-reference, which is of no consequence. But on f. 130 *Carta magna* (*libertatis Anglie*) is succeeded by a second *Carta* followed by an underlined word of seven letters, all but legible, the first letter of which may be F. The only other *Carta* in this library was the *Carta de Foresta* (Cat. ii, no. 134), which, however, does not appear in Part iii under F. We may suppose that it was accidentally omitted, and that this entry refers us on to it. Unhappily, the last two letters of the undeciphered word do not resemble TA. Sometimes the wrong word appears to be underlined. For instance, on f. 117 is entered *De Archa Noe Hugo*, where Hugo is underlined. But on turning to *Hugo* we are merely referred back here. It seems that *Archa* should have been underlined, but that would point back to the very entry that precedes it! Not seldom an entry is repeated under a different heading.

Contractions and abbreviations of course abound, and sometimes require a little care in smoothing out, but are usually

obvious enough. We find such abbreviations as *lā* for *Lam(b)eth*, *mō* for *monasteriis*, *aur* for *aurora*. One still wants elucidation, viz. *ōx* in Cat. i, no. 413, *Liber Catonis W. Charitham prioris ōx*.

John Whitefelde in literary capacity and conversance with current books was, as a bibliograph, much above the general level of his fellow monks. His spelling, however, as was not unusual, is quite haphazard. Priscian and Boethius appear as Precianus<sup>1</sup> and Boicius, and Anathasius represents Athanasius. Aquinas is disguised as Alquinas. Aesop becomes Isopus, and Galen of course Galienus, whence the ambiguous French Galien. The use of aspirates is inconsistent. We find *bestimantes* (cf. *babusiones* in the Cat. of St. Augustine's Abbey) and *Ympnarium* (as well as *Hympnare*), but omission is far commoner than insertion, e. g. Ipocras for Hippocrates, and of course *Oracius*. Instead of *τ* we very often get *тн*, as *Thopica* (but also once *Topica*), *Thymeus* for Timaeus, *Thaurus*, *Metheora*, and such-like, but also *Spera* for *Sphaera*, and *Cronica* and *apporisma*. The diphthong *æ* is always written *ε*, and *τ* very often *c*. A curious form is *fleobotmia*, where *o* has got transposed. But how did a latinist like our John put down in cold blood *Neceus Athenis* for the first and familiar words of Horace's *Odes*? It was perhaps not unnatural that he should be nonplussed by the Irish hand in the *Old Psalter* (Cat. i, no. 18) now in St. John's College, Cambridge, and label it *idiomate incognito*, though except for an Irish gloss or two, it was written in Latin. He also mis-spells the *Entheticus* of John of Salisbury and writes it *Euteticus*, in this case also omitting an *h*.

It is strange to find Horace in his *Odes* figuring as *Statius minor*.<sup>2</sup> Statius himself had a great vogue in the Middle Ages, being for some reason endeared to the monastic mind. And have we not seen not very many months ago the bureau that

<sup>1</sup> But Praescianus has MS. authority.

<sup>2</sup> This may be merely a clerical error of Stacius for Oracius, but why minor?

presides over these matters announcing that the soul of Statius had just been released from Purgatory? Statius Magnus meant his *Thebais*, while the *Achilleis* appears in strange guise as *Achilleidos vel in Surculis*. Though the name Ursulus or Surculus was incorrectly attached to Statius in later times, this does not seem to throw much light on the expression here used, which should mean 'in shoots' (? in extracts). The *Ars Poetica* of Horace is listed as *Nova Poetria*; Avenetus stands, it is said, for *Avianus*. Gesselynus becomes in one place Jecebinus and, in Cat. ii, Je<sup>e</sup>gellinus. Hildebert is confused with Gildebert.

We constantly find after a title a proper name in the genitive case, sometimes two names, both in the genitive. In the former is the owner (and so the donor, who may also be the transcriber) meant, or is it the author of the work? We have to decide on probabilities. Did Whitefelde transcribe any of the 20 books which carry his name? We know he transcribed one book at Rome, and he wrote the *Tabulae* and *Tituli* ascribed to him. He may even have written books, as well as transcribed them. Possibly *Spolia latrunculi* was such a book. Books in his day were expensive things. In the Catalogue of the library of the College of St. Mary, Winchester, the value of the books is stated,<sup>1</sup> and makes this clear. As to the Dover books, a price is mentioned only in three cases (that is, of course, in extant volumes), the Irish Psalter being priced at 40s., the Statius, also in St. John's College, Cambridge, at 20s., and the Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* of Trinity College, Oxford, at 3s. 4d. The first two are not contemporary values. The third is given under date 1504, when it was in a Cistercian monastery of the Lincoln diocese, whither it seems to have strayed in spite of the curse which immediately follows—*qui alias alienaverit, anathema sit*. It still bears the Dover press-mark © vi.

<sup>1</sup> See *Arch. Journal*, xv. 59-74.

It is not easy to see how monks, who were supposed to have no property of their own, could procure a number of books, some of which must have been costly. Three of the priors are credited with books, nine, eight, and seven respectively, the monk Michael of Aldin (? Aldington) with eleven, all theological, one of which, the *Computus Ecclesiasticus*, is still extant in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. The monk Eadmund owned eight books, and in three other instances *Eadmundi* is preceded by Willelmi or W., where two monks must have owned it in turn, or William must have been the writer. But a Willelmus occurs alone more than twelve times, and nearly forty other names of priors and monks appear in the same way. Outside donors also occur. Many, if not most, of the books no doubt came from Canterbury. One, the *Life of Dunstan*, now MS. Arundel 16 in the British Museum, has the Christ Church mark in it still, though the press-mark is that of Dover.

An analysis of the contents of the library as a whole shows us that St. Augustine, the dominant Father of the medieval Church, heads the list of individual authors with most books to his credit. There are nearly 80 separate copies of his voluminous works, some treatises being repeated again and again. St. Bernard is next with about 50. Others rank as follows: Ambrose 16, Jerome 14, Benedict, Gregory, Chrysostom, Isidore, Anselm 10 or 12 each. Hilary and Athanasius occur only once. The usual popes, doctors, theologians, archbishops, and writers on Divinity and Canon Law are well represented, such as Hugo de S. Victor (30), J. Andreas and Reymund de Pennaforti (10 each), Innocent III and Peter Comestor (10 each), Bonaventura (7), Grosteste (6 or more), Aquinas (3). Bede only comes in an added entry with *De tribus diebus anni*. Of the early fathers only Origen (*Omēlie*) and Cyprian occur, but no Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, or Epiphanius. Eusebius (*Monita*) and 3 copies of Porphyry are listed.

The Classical authors make a fairly good showing.

CICERO (except once, called Tully): *de Officiis*, 2 copies, one called *Questiones de Divinitate*, and Extracts; *Topica* (Bk. II apparently); extracts from his *Cato*, *Laelius*, *Paradoxa*,<sup>1</sup> and general Collectanea.

VIRGIL: *Aeneid*, 2 copies; *Georgics*, one; extracts from the *Bucolics*; notes on Virgil, and extracts from Servius.

SALLUST: *Catiline*, and notes on his works.

OVID: *Metamorphoses* (2 copies), *Fasti*, *De Arte Amandi*, *de Remedio Amoris*; glosses on the poet; the *de parte Gamedis* (see pp. 82 sq.).

HORACE: 1 copy defective at the beginning; *Odes* (Statius minor), and *Odes*, 1; *Satires*, 2 copies; *Epistles*; *Ars Poetica* (3 copies), with glosses on his works and separately on the *Odes*, and on the *Satires* and *Odes*.

TERENCE: 1 complete copy, 3 books of glosses (one called *Persius* in Cat. ii) and 1 of extracts.

PERSIUS: 2 copies. He was a favourite monastic author. Christ Church, Canterbury, had 9 copies.

JUVENAL: 2 copies.

LUCAN: 1 copy, and glosses.

SENECA the Elder: extracts from his *Declamations* among two *Excerpta de Pluribus* (Bodl. MS. 678).

SENECA the Younger: 2 copies of *Letters to Lucilius*, 1 of extracts from the same; 2 of *in Proverbiis*; extracts from the *De Beneficio*, *de Clementia*, *de Institutione morum*.

QUINTILIAN: *de Oratoriis*, and extracts.

STATIUS: 2 copies of the *Thebais*, both still extant; 3 of the *Achilleis*.

APULEIUS or Appuleius: 2 copies of the *De Deo Socratis*.

Sextus or Xystus: the *Anulus* or *Encheiridion*, a book of moral and philosophical maxims, the real author of which is still unknown.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Excerpta de Pluribus*, Bodl. MS. 678.



Sibyl: *Sibylle signa*.

SOLINUS: *De Mirabilibus Mundi* (= *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*).

CLAUDIANUS MAGNUS: 1 copy, and 2 of the *de Raptu Gany-medis*.

Besides these we have Victorinus on Rhetoric, Extracts from Symmachus, Philo, Ennodius, Avenetus (= Avianus), Prudentius, whose *Psychomachia* appears as *Pugna viciorum et virtutum*, Macrobius with 3 copies of Scipio's Dream, Vegetius *de re militari*, Sedulius, Maximianus, called alternatively Ovidius, with 3 copies of his *De Incommodis Senectutis*, an Idyll of the Pseudo-Ausonius, written on a blank leaf of the extant Statius in St. John's College, Cambridge, Secundus philosophus, a spurious dialogue with Hadrian (3 copies), Cassiodorus with 6 copies of his *De Vera Amicitia* and Extracts from his letters, Pliny Secundus, or Junior, a medical compilation from Pliny, N. H., B.M. 142-50, Cato's *Disticha de Moribus*, moral couplets in hexameters (8 copies, two being in French).

Three writers of great vogue in the Middle Ages are largely represented, viz.:

BOETHIUS (Boicius always in this Catalogue): 2 copies of his *de Consolatione* and 2 of glosses on it; 2 of the spurious *de disciplina scholarum*, and 1 of the *de Trinitate*.

PRISCIAN (Precianus): 4 copies of the *Priscianus magnus*; 4 of the *De Accentu*; 3 of the *De Barbarisino*; 8 of the *de Constructione*; 2 of glosses, 1 of *Sententiae*. Also 2 copies of *Greek Prepositions* according to Priscian.

DONATUS: 3 copies, with four of Donatus glossed; 1 tract about him; 1 copy of his *De Partibus Oracionis*; 1 of *Notabilia*; 1 of *Accidencia et Interrogacio*; 1 on his *Declinaciones Nominum*, and *de Nominibus Relativis*, if this tract be his.

Greek writers and Greek in general are very sparsely represented. We find in Latin versions:

HIPPOCRATES: 2 copies of his *Aphorisms*, 2 of his *Prognostics*, and 1 of his *Secreta de morte hominis*.

AESOP (Isopus): 2 copies of his *Fables (Parables)* in verse.

PLATO: this means generally the *Timaeus*, but we have that dialogue also mentioned specifically, and again as glossed by Martianus Capella (a philosopher-poet of the fifth century A.D.). Besides these there are 2 entries of *Plato* simply and 2 of notes on *Plato*.

ARISTOTLE: Of his *Secreta Secretorum* and correspondence with Alexander there are 8 copies<sup>1</sup> (also 1 of Egidius's version of it); 2 of the *Physiognomy*; 1 of the *Nature of Animals*; 2 of the *Topics* (?); 4 of the *Periarmenias Liber*; 3 of the *Predicamenta*, with a volume of glosses on it; 4 of the *Elenchi*, and a commentary on the same; 3 of the *Analytica Priora*, 2 of the *Posteriora*; 2 of the *Logica*, and 2 of the *Ethics* (?); 1 of the *Meteorum Conclusiones*, and 1 of General Commentary.

GALEN: 2 copies of the *Liber Graduum*, 1 of the *Secreta* (Cat. ii has *Decreta*: but cf. Hippocrates), and 1 of the *Tegnii Liber*.

The only occurrences of actual Greek words are where *Athanatos* is cited under *Expositio quorundam vocabulorum* and also under *Interpretaciones Hebreicorum et Grecorum*; the Greek alphabet occurs twice over in the latter book,<sup>2</sup> and no doubt in the *Alphabetum Hebreicorum et Grecorum* (Cat. ii. 385). The *Differencie sec<sup>o</sup> morem Grecorum* has, as its opening words, the words *Alchos* and *Archos*, but whether these are intended for Greek words is not clear. Besides these, the *Preposition* of J. Garland begins *In lucem Grece ponuntur*, and there is Ebrard's book, *Grecismus*.

<sup>1</sup> A very popular book. See Wright on its mention in Chaucer's *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*. Egidius Anglicus reproduced this in his *de Regimine Principum* (thirteenth century), and Occleve later versified it for Henry V.

<sup>2</sup> See the Priory copy extant at C.C.C., Cambs., MS. 462.

IRISH is in evidence only through a few glosses in the Ancient Psalter now in St. John's College, Cambridge.

ENGLISH is represented by two books and no more, Hendung's *Proverbs* and a fable *de Vulpe Medico*. A sentence or two in the vernacular is scribbled in the Priory Statius now in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. On the last page is 'The olde augurys ijs nott . . .' and on f. 100 there are two lines of which the second, alone legible, is 'Marria throw all the cost of the soo' (?).

FRENCH books are fairly numerous, 43 in all, of which 14 are theological, 9 historical, including 2 tracts in Norman-French on the history of the Castle and Priory of Dover, and others on Charlemagne (3), Octovianus [*sic*], and the History of the Britons. Three are on Natural History, and there are three copies of Cato's *Disticha*. The one book on *Husbandry* which the library possessed is in French. All the 4 Romances in the list are in French, viz. *Ferrumbras*, *Charlemagne*, *The Rose*, and *Athys and Prophilius*.

THE SCRIPTURES. There are three complete Bibles, one of which is the very fine one now in C.C.C., Cambridge. The other two were for the use of the *Scholares* of the Priory. On the O.T., or parts of it, are 34 books, including the Irish Psalter in St. John's, Cambridge, and Richard Hampole's 'Notes on the Psalter', now at C.C.C., Cambridge, and Peter de Riga's *Aurora*, or versified portions of the O.T. There is also a French Psalter. Of the Apocrypha there is Tobit in verse and Ecclesiasticus (parts of), and for the N.T. *Nichodemus de passione Dñi* and the *Testamentum Patriarcharum*.

N.T. : 25 works, one, *vetus liber* of the Gospels and Epistles, complete, and commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John. Of the Epistles St. Paul's alone are specially treated. There are several works on the Acts, including Arator's poetical paraphrase; one Apocalypse glossed, and a Life of St. John. Apart from these there are Concordances (?) and 7 copies of

Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, and tracts on the diction and vocabulary of the Scriptures; and other treatises, such as the *Septena Quinque*, *Tabula moralium*, an exposition of particular psalms.

MEDICINE. The surprising number of medical books seems to show that regular hours and an enforced abstemiousness in food, drink, and sexual desires, together with a cloistered quarantine from outside infection, did not insure good health to the monks. In the Black Death and Plague years they suffered severely. Possibly the water-supply had much to do with this. It is known that the inmates of Christ Church, Canterbury, which was especially well off for water, came off very well in these visitations.

There are 130 tracts on medicine, one being in French. Hippocrates and Galen are prominent in the list of authors, and Rhazes the Arabian, and an unknown Bilbykyr (possibly for Abulbekr). Numerous medieval writers on medicine are to be found here, e. g. Platearius, Fulbert, Alexander, Damascenus (see Chaucer's *Prologue*), Nicholas, Bartholomew, Gilbert, Egidius (? of Paris, see Library of Ch. Ch., Cant., no. 446), Roland, Johannicius, Mauricius, Philaretus (written Philetretus by Whitefelde), Robert, Rogerinus, Cophon (on sexual matters, a subject surely out of place here),<sup>1</sup> Ysaac, Wellensis, Ferrarius, Ricardus, Henricus (?), Peter Montis Pessulani. It is not certain whether Roger Bacon is meant by Rogerus or Rogerinus.<sup>2</sup> There are three tracts on flebotomy, blood-letting (*minutio*) being a regular part of the monastic régime; one, a later addition, on anatomy; a great number on the urine; one tract with the effective title of *Quid pro Quo*. There were copies also of *Tabula Salernitana*, a medical work (? in verse),

<sup>1</sup> See also *Trotula maior*, Cat. ii. 347, 355; *Pauperum Thesaurus medicine*, Cat. ii. 347; and *Coitus Liber.*, no. 355.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Little classes Roger as anonymous. But Poole and Bale assign Rogerinus (with the opening words *Sicut ab antiquis*) to Roger Bacon.

emanating from the medical school of Salerno. The name Plancteygne, author of *Questiones de phisica* (Cat. ii. 344), not found elsewhere, is a puzzle. Nor can I identify Archimatheus (*de modo medendi*, Cat. ii. 355).<sup>1</sup>

LEGAL. Monks were among the most litigious and quarrelsome people in the realm. The entertaining history of Abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmunds shows what an inordinately large part of the thought and energies of a great convent was spent in quarrelling with neighbours about property and upholding the secular rights of a religious house. Dover Priory had a 200 years' conflict with Canterbury, which ended in its subjection. Consequently the fifty or more legal works in their library would seem none too many. These included 5 copies of the Old Digest, 2 of the New, 1 of the Codex, and several of the *Instituta*. *Magna Carta* was here, naturally enough, and the *Carta de Foresta*, the 'Laws of Cnut' (Knouto), 'Laws and Customs of England', 'Statutes of the Kings of England', 'Statutes in the Court of Arches', *Placita in curia regali* and *coram rege*, with *Litere de lite*, all three of which probably had reference to the Canterbury litigation.

Canon Law was of course much studied, fifty of the books bearing on the Decretals and a dozen on the Clementines. The jurists Dignus and Tancred are here with two and four copies respectively.

WORKS ON GRAMMAR, PROSODY, ORTHOGRAPHY, and COMPOSITION, with DICTIONARIES account for about 150 books. There are 24 Donats and a dozen Priscians—no doubt for school use. The *Phaletolum*, a grammatical poem (?), contributed 5 copies. In Cat. ii. 408 its beginning is given as *Phaletolum cillentibus*, whatever that may mean. *Unus Omnium* by John de Garlandia occurs twice. The *Doctrinale*, a Latin grammar in verse, taken from Priscian by Alexander de Villa Dei, has 7

<sup>1</sup> A copy is in the library of Magd. Coll., no. 164. It is found in the Cat. of St. Aug., Cant., as *Liber Arthimathei cum R.* 1545, 1604.

copies, and the *Poetria* of Geoffrey de Vinesauf 1 copy, which is now in Trinity College, Cambridge. There are tracts on metre, versification, synonyms, grammatical rarities, and books by Guydo, Ivo of Chartres, Hildebert, and Isidore.

HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, and LOCAL HISTORY are dealt with in more than 30 books: e. g. Charlemagne 4, Octavian 1, the quarrel between Emperor and Pope 3, Acts of Henry, son of Henry II; England described by counties and monasteries, Chronicles of the Priory, and Evidences as to its liberties and foundation; the Commendation and wonders of England, the Coming of the English, two accounts of the Britons, Kings of England since the Conquest.

ASTRONOMY and NATURAL SCIENCE. There are about a dozen astronomical treatises, one of which, 'Astronomy and the World', by Gregory of Huntingdon (*circa* 1290) is extant in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. Books like *De Naturis Rerum*, *Naturalia*, and Aristotle's *de Naturis Animalium*, would come under this head. And there is a *Bestiary* (illustrated), 5 *Lapidaries*, copies of a book by Evax an Arabian king, a *Medecina falconum*, and a copy of the medieval encyclopaedia of fictitious natural history, Bartholomew's *De Proprietatibus Rerum*.

OCCULTISM had some attractions for the introspective monk, and he supplied himself here with tracts on Thunder presages, divination, incantations, dreams, palmistry, Merlin's prophecy (a favourite evidently, with 5 copies), the Sibyl, and Trismegistus—in all about 15 books.

ARITHMETIC, GEOMETRY, CHRONOLOGY, and KALENDARIA. These subjects account for more than a score of books, one of which, the *Computus Ecclesiasticus*, is extant at Glasgow.

RHETORIC, LOGIC, DIALECTIC. Besides Cicero and Aristotle, we have about 14 treatises on these subjects.

THEOLOGY. Peter Lombard takes a front place with 12 copies of his *Sententiae* from the Fathers. There are also 8 volumes of *Scintillae*. Fifty books have to do with Sermons.

Works relating primarily to Christ are not numerous. There are half a dozen books on the Passion and the Words from the Cross, a tract *Quomodo Christus factus est Sacerdos* (Cat. ii. 97), and a short discussion on *Corpus Christi, quare Sumitur in specie panis*. This is written into the volume *Compotus Ecclesiasticus*, mentioned above.

HAGIOLOGY, a naturally congenial subject in such an atmosphere, supplies us with lives and miracles of the following: Audoenus (St. Ouen = Dado), Archbishop Edmund (Pontiniac'), Dunstan, Edmund the Martyr, Alphege, Martin, Stephen the Archbishop, Augustine (the Apostle of England), Patrick, Wilfild, Eanswyth, Eadburga, Brice (this is missing from the volume, still extant, which it should be in), Fursey, Leonard, Nicholas, Clement, Jerome, Francis of Assissi, Becket, Odo, Anselm, Erkenwald, Cornelius the Pope, Cyprian, Julian (? which, in French), Winwaly,<sup>1</sup> the Martyrs Faith, Hope, and Charity (apocryphal), Mary of Egypt, Mary of Magdala, Mary of Rokemadur, and the Life and Miracles of the Virgin Mary (4 copies).<sup>2</sup> Strangely enough, the Dover martyr, Thomas de la Hale, killed in the French raid of 1295, does not appear in this list. There is a book indeed, called *Metrica* (or *Metra*) *de Thoma Davoriensi*, which may be in his honour, but we cannot be sure. It begins *Exspirat caritas*. The life of St. Thomas exists in manuscript<sup>3</sup> at the Bodleian (no. 240, f. 798), written by John of Tynemouth, and an account is also found in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda*. The *Corpus Christi* MS., mentioned in the note above, contains a fragmentary *Legendary* from 31 December to 12 May, in which Cuthbert, John of Beverley, and other saints are noted. There was besides in the library a *Martyrologium Vetus* and one or two *Legenda*.

<sup>1</sup> A Breton abbot, born in England.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Vitae Sanctorum*, a Dover book still extant (C.C.C., Cambs., MS. 42), thirty-eight miracles of the Virgin Mary are described.

<sup>3</sup> Written at Bury in 1377.



PARABLES, PROVERBS, and FABLES : 5 copies of Odo of Cherton's popular parables, and the same of Avenetus's fables. For Hendung's *Proverbs* see above.

MUSIC. Music is not prominent in this list, only 3 or 4 works on it being found. Perhaps there were others on Church music among the Service books. But it is surprising that there is no mention of the Dover monk Thinredus, who composed the *De legitimis ordinibus musice* in one book, and the *Pentacordorum et Tetracordorum* in 3, *atque alia plura*, about 1370.<sup>1</sup>

BOOKS on the MONASTIC LIFE : many of course which deal with the claustral régime and its twelve *abusiones* ; many *Constituciones*, e. g. of Archbishops Lanfranc, Stephen, Boniface, Robert, and Peckham, of the Legates Otto and Ottobon, of the Popes in general and of Popes Innocent and Benedict in particular ; of the Bishops Grosteste and Fulco, together with those of the *General Chapter*, numbering in all about 50.

The Novices are provided with books for their instruction, and the Scholars two Bibles and a *Morale magnum* ; and the *Juniores* have others, with several dictionaries and grammars for the brethren in general. There are two treatises on the 'Profession' of Monks, and 16 on the Rule of St. Benedict. The Priory Seals (*Signa Monachorum*) and an 'Inventory of the Church' more or less complete the list.

MORAL SUBJECTS take up more than 100 treatises on Virtue and Vice, Penitence and Confession, Original Sin and Deadly Sin, Fall and Regeneration, Absolution and Excommunication, the Soul, Free-will, Exorcism at Baptism, the *Dieta Salutis*, Prayer, and many more.

The WORLD, its follies and misery, its wonders and ages, came in for some considerable attention, but as was natural ECCLESIASTICISM and RITUAL and LITURGY for much more, 8 or 10 books being devoted to the Mass, many to the Hierarchy,

<sup>1</sup> See Cat. of Boston of Bury. He calls him a monk of Dover. Tanner, *Notitia monastica*, Pref. xxxix.

Ecclesiastical Orders, the Sacraments, the Nicene Creed, the Misteria (or Ministeria), the Trinity (one a verse tract), and the Synods. There were 5 copies of the *Elucidarius*, a theological dialogue between master and pupil, one of which is extant in the Bodleian (MS. 678).

One or two titles of less-known works may be briefly mentioned here: *Narratio reclusi militis*, which begins *Miserere mei, Deus*, but the identification words from f. 2 are *mes voille* (Cat. ii. 368); *Senium est tedium* (Cat. ii. 398); *Godwynus faber qualiter ditatus*, beginning *Quidam piscator*, seemingly a fable; *Spolia latrunculi*, noticed previously; and the curious *Gesta Northfolchie ridic'losa* (Cat. iii, f. 151: but Cat. ii. 201 has *Testa Northfolchie*), the beginning of which is *Exiit editum ab Augusto*. A certain 'pontifex' styled Golias wrote a *Commendacionem Northfolcie* with the same beginning, followed by the words *qui mittens nuncios iussit describere mundi provincias summo cum opere*; and Walter de Mapes wrote a description of Norfolk, *Seu de moribus Northfolchianorum*, with the same opening words. This was answered by a 'Certain Northfolchian'.<sup>1</sup>

There remains now only to give a concise description of the score or so of volumes from this library still surviving, about which there are many points of interest; and to conclude with a few remarks on the probable fate of the great bulk of the books that formerly existed in the Library of Dover Priory.

I. First comes the Catalogue itself, the *MATRICULA LIBRORUM BIBLIOTECÆ DOVOR*, which stood first on the shelves and was marked A. I. This has been sufficiently described already. It is in the Bodleian (MS. 240).

<sup>1</sup> So Poole and Bale. This book was also in the library of St. Aug., Cant. Golias was a writer of burlesque satirical Latin rhymes (end of twelfth century) such as *Apocalipsis Golie*, of which Dover had two copies. This began with *A tauro torrida*, which were also the opening words of a treatise by John of Salisbury, viz. *De turpi questu et gestu virorum ecclesiasticorum*.

2. CRONICA PAUCORUM SCILICET AB ORIGINE MUNDI 5199 = *Cronica ab origine mundi*, Cat. i. 374. It found its way into Sir Robert Cotton's collection probably about A. D. 1600, and is now in the British Museum (Cott. Jnl. D.V., Pt. 2, ff. 13-61), bound up with Nennius's *Gesta Britonum*. Unfortunately it suffered grievously in the fire of 13 October 1731, in which out of 950 documents more than 100 were totally destroyed or rendered useless and nearly 100 much damaged. 'Although', says Stubbs, 'scarcely a single folio (of this MS.) has entirely disappeared, many are so burned round the edge as to leave only a small piece of legible writing in the middle of the page; many are so shrivelled and discoloured that with a bright light upon them only a few shadowy words here and there can be made out.' He also adds, 'When complete the book must have been one of the best class of monastic annals.'<sup>1</sup> This is high praise from such a pen, and makes our regret at the loss of these 'annals' all the greater.

The Chronicle proper was written in the thirteenth century, with later additions relating to the priory, the last folio being dated 1367. The original hand begins with the words *Quingentis annis* and ends at A. D. 1274 with *per sex annos ut subsidium terre sancte*. Another hand continues the Chronicle to 1286, after which there are additions by two other hands, the last being the Profession of James Stone on his installation as prior, 17 January 1367. As the number of folios given to this manuscript in the Catalogue is 56, but it actually contains 61, the later folios, it would seem, were added after 1359. From 1226 to 1234 the Chronicle gives a fair summary year by year of English history, then to 1258 it is much more meagre, but from that date is full and interesting both on its own and national affairs. Its most valuable section is that which describes the consecration of Archbishop St. Edmund,

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicon Gervasii*, Rolls Series, II. xxii. See also Sir T. Hardy, *Cat. of Materials* (Hist. MSS.), iii. 224.

which Gervase passes over as Stubbs says, *sicco pede*. But it also gives the Mise of Amiens and the challenges interchanged before the Battle of Lewes (which are added on a fly-leaf).

There is a very great resemblance between these *Annals* and the *Continuation* of Gervase, but it is certain that the one was not copied from the other. The writer, whoever he was, of the latter was intimately connected with Dover Priory, and may even have been its sub-prior.

The Dover Library has a second *Cronicon ab origine mundi* (Cat. i. 373), but with different openings, the other beginning *Prima etas mundi*. It consisted only of 12 ff.

2a. Another Dover Chronicle in roll form, bound up as a book, is also in the Cott. MSS.,<sup>1</sup> entitled *Cronica S. Martini de Dover a Bruto ad regem Henricum ii, ubi de fundatione illius ecclesie per Withredum regem Cancie . . . et de statu eius tum sub canonibus regularibus, tum sub monachis S. Benedicti*. It no doubt came from the priory, though it has no press-mark, for it is obviously incomplete. It was possibly identical with *Cronica de fundatione prioratus*, a book of 15 ff. (Cat. i. 224). But there was also a *Cronica quedam* of 6½ ff. (Cat. i. 336).

2b. There is also a document at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. 59),<sup>2</sup> which must previously have been one of the muniments of the priory in its original form, viz. *Testimonium Libertatum et immunitatum ecclesie S. Martini infra Dover a rege Withredo fundate*. A note by an owner is written at the top of f. 1a, *Hic liber scriptus ut apparet in Coenobio Martyn* (i.e. Merton Priory). It may have come from West Langdon. On f. 132b it mentions the murder of Thomas de la Hale by the French in 1295, *ad cuius tumulum fiunt miracula*. The main Dover document is a manifesto against the claims of the archdeacon to 'visit' the priory, and no

<sup>1</sup> Vesp. B. xi. ff. 72-5.

<sup>2</sup> f. 27 of a MS. volume, headed *Cronica Martini Poloni*.

doubt refers to the claim of Simoun de Comynge, made before Edward I in 1293, which was not allowed.<sup>1</sup>

2c. Certain *Chronica ecclesiae B. Martini Dov.* are mentioned in connexion with Edward I's war with Scotland and his collection of evidence in support of his claims. In *Documents and Records of Scotland*<sup>2</sup> we find this note: *In Chronicis ecclesiae b. Martini Dov. inveniuntur haec de regno Scocie*: on a small membrane endorsed *a croniċ Dover*, originally folded as a letter, and endorsed on the back, Mag<sup>ro</sup> Martino, Commissār Cant. per R. Priorem Dov. d.d. The prior must have been Robert de Whetacre (1289-1318), who had been made prior by Edward's suggestion.

3 and 4. BIBLIA IN DUOBUS VOLUMINIBUS = C.C.C. Camb. MSS. 2 and 3. These two splendid volumes stood next to the Catalogue on the shelves. The manuscript was written, probably at Canterbury,<sup>3</sup> in the twelfth century, and was no doubt brought with them by the first monks in 1139. It reached the C.C.C. Library among Archbishop Parker's books. It has many fine illuminated initial letters. Dr. James, in his Catalogue of the College Library, has given a full account of the manuscript, which makes further description unnecessary.<sup>4</sup> Vol. i, of 273 ff., contains the Bible as far as the end of Kings, to which succeed the Prophets. Vol. ii, of 384 ff., has some only of the Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, then Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Chronicles, Ezra, Esther, Tobit, Judith, Maccabees, Canons of the Gospels, Epistle of Jerome to Pope Damasus, and all the N.T. including the Epistle to the Laodiceans.

5. PSALTERIUM VETUS GLOSATUM (A. v. I = Cat. i. 18) =

<sup>1</sup> See Prynn's *Papal Usurpations*, iii. 130.

<sup>2</sup> F. Palgrave, i. 185, 1837.

<sup>3</sup> The hand much resembles that of the Bury Bible in the same library.

<sup>4</sup> On f. 102b of vol. i the shields of Joshua and Caliph (Caleb) have coats of arms: *Or*, seven bends sinister vert; and Checky of *az.* and *arg.* a chief *or* fretty sable.

St. John's Coll. Camb. MS. 9. It is of the late ninth century, and written in an Irish hand with glosses, some of which are in Irish. These are much later in date. The manuscript belonged originally to Bangor Monastery, Co. Down. After the dissolution of the monasteries it passed into the hands of William Crashaw, a divine and Johnian, whose bibliophile propensities involved him in debt. Many of his books came into the hands of Henry Wriothesley, the Earl of Southampton (Shakespeare's patron), who left them to their common College of St. John's. The gift included 100 MSS. besides printed works, and this Psalter must have been one of the rarities in the bequest. The earl died in 1624 but the manuscripts were not transferred to Cambridge till 1635 by his heir Thomas, the 4th Earl. At the top of fol. 1b is the name R. Benet, seemingly a mayor of Romsey, whose name occurs in several other manuscripts in St. John's Library. A Roger Benett also owned the beautiful Bible among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> to be mentioned later.

6. COMPOTUS ECCLESIASTICUS secundum S. Augustinum (C. vii. 8 = Cat. ii. 124) = Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, v. 6. 17. The volume belonged to Michael, a monk of the priory. It ends imperfectly on f. 45. The tract named is the second in the volume, being preceded by the next mentioned, and followed by the others.

6a. ARS CALCULATORIA VEL COMPOTUS (C. vii. 8 = Cat. ii. 124). This is headed on f. 8a: *Incipit libellus calculatorie artis Albrici*.<sup>2</sup> It begins *Annus Solaris* and ends imperfectly on f. 20.

6b. *Algorismus doctinalis* or *Ars Algorismi* (C. vii. 8 = Cat. ii. 124). It begins on f. 45, *Omnia quae in primeva rerum origine precesserunt raci . . .* and ends imperfectly on f. 52.

6c. *Tractatus de mundo et Astronomia* (C. vii. 8 = Cat. ii.

<sup>1</sup> No. 2867.

<sup>2</sup> The same or another Albricus wrote on medicinal herbs: see Cat. ii. 347.

124). It begins on f. 69, *Mundus dicitur quasi undique : motus est enim in perpetuo motu*, and ends *dicuntur tenebre ipsi tenebrosi*. The author was Gregory of Huntingdon, Prior of Ramsey, who flourished in 1290.

6d. *Kalendare in Gallicis ruthmicis* or *Kalendare ruthmaticum Gallice* (C. vii. 8 = Cat. ii. 124). This is a set of metrical Calendar rules in French verse by Ranulf or Raüf de Linham. On f. 95 is the heading *Ci commence le Kalendre de latin translate pur romancer : En geste ne voyle pas chanter*; and ends on f. 105, *granter ne veulle cest loer Que a tutz bons serra commun —amen, amen du chescun*. The date is given at the end as 1256, *ke . . . Raüf cest tretee fils*.

This volume also contains three fragments unnoticed in the Catalogue, viz. :

(i) A fragment of a metrical *Chronicle of England* by an unknown monk of the priory, beginning on f. 108. It consists of 89 hexameters, which rhyme at random, describing the Peasant Revolt of 1381. It calls the leaders Jakis Straw, Thomas Meller, and Jakis Tylere, the Christian names of the last two being different from the well-known ones, and deals mainly with the murder of the Archbishop Simon Sudbury, which naturally shocked the monks more than others, and Walworth's share in the suppression of the Rebellion. The name Sudbury is versified as *Symon de Burgo dictus et Austri [sic]*. It begins :

Pro dolor occurrit nuper confusio rerum,  
Dum virtus procerum silet, et vulgus male sevit,  
Servit nobilitas et rusticitas dominatur;  
Ad res illicitas omnis plebs precipitatur.

(ii) *Memoranda on English History* by an unknown monk of the priory. It begins on f. 106 with the Barons' war against Edward II, and the execution of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, at Pontefract on 23 March 1322 (1323). We find recorded the defeat of the Scots at Halidon Hill 19 July 1333; the victory



of Sluys 1341; Cressy, where the *Rex Maioritarum* (Majorcans) is noted; the defeat of the Scots at Neville's Cross in 1346; the Black Death in 1349, 1362, 1369, 1375; the capture of Calais 1347. In 1355 *Multi homines amentes facti sunt in aspectu demonum*. In the next year comes the victory of Poitiers with the capture of the French king, and this unintelligible addition, *cum multis navigantibus de exercitu suo interfecerunt*; in 1359 the burning of Winchelsey by the French; in 1362 a storm so violent as to throw down *cruces et arbores et campanilia et molendina*. The death of the Black Prince, followed by that of his father, is noted and a victory of Thomas, Earl of Gloucester, over the Spaniards; the loss of John Arundel and other *valentes* in 'Ibernia' in 1380. Then the rebellion of Jack Straw, the marriage of Richard II, and a great earthquake about 24 May; another invasion of Spain and the loss of *multi valentes* in 1385. Lastly, under date 1388, the violent and illegal proceedings of the Duke of Gloucester and other nobles in their unjust execution as traitors of Chief Justice Tressilian and others including Nicholas Brembyr, late Lord Mayor of London.<sup>1</sup>

(iii) On f. 10 is a very short discourse on *Why the Body of Christ is received as bread and not in its proper substance (specie)*. Three answers are given. This is followed by aphorisms on Unhappiness, the Chastening effect of illness, Safeguards against lust, God the end of our desires. Finally Penitence is discussed.

On f. 8 in a sixteenth- to seventeenth-century hand are the words '*Aurea Libertas*: Edward Hoby'. Sir Edward was a favourite of James I and a friend of Camden's.

This volume came to Glasgow with the rest of Hunter's splendid collections in 1783, but it is not known how he acquired it. But he 'picked up' many monastic treasures.

7. VITA S. MARTINI [S. Bricii], S. EDMUNDI REGIS, ET

<sup>1</sup> Lord Mayor in 1377 and 1383-5.

ALIORUM SANCTORUM cum diversis contentis in eodem libro (D. ii. 2 = Cat. i. 129) = C.C.C. Camb. MS. 42. This is a manuscript of the twelfth century in several excellent hands of the Canterbury type. The book was a later addition to Cat. i, and does not appear in the other two Parts. In Cat. i, however, it is entered twice, being lined through in the first case, and *vacat* written in the margin. It belonged to a monk named John Ryngewolde. On the fly-leaf are some extracts on *Elementa* and *Eucharistia*, as if from an encyclopaedia. The contents of the volume are :

7a. *Life of St. Martin*, taken from Sulpicius Severus and Gregory of Tours.

7b. *Abbo's Life of St. Edmund*, f. 19, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

7c. *Portions of a Legendary*, f. 26, from 31 December (Silvester) to 12 May (Nereus and Achilleus). Included are Amandus (6 February), Cuthbert (20 March), John of Beverley (7 May), translation of S. Nicholas (9 May).

7d. *Life of St. Dunstan* by Osbern, f. 62, and ending imperfectly at f. 81 : Anglorum rege Athelstano anno quidem imperii eius primi (A. D. 925). There are notes in the manuscript by Parker and Goscelin.

7e. *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin*, f. 82, in a fresh hand, ends imperfectly f. 99b. There are 38 miracles given, the 32nd-38th being in metre, written as prose. The 18th is a vision in which the Virgin Mary reproaches a nun of Shaftesbury for reciting the *Angelica Salutatio* too fast in the eagerness of her devotion. The present list differs in some particulars from the one given by Ward.<sup>1</sup>

These are followed by (1) a hymn for St. Martin in six lines, f. 99b ; (2) an Office for Christmas, f. 100 ; a Prayer to the Virgin, f. 103.

8. VITA S. DUNSTANI CANTUARENSIS (D. vii. 4 = Cat. ii.

<sup>1</sup> *Cat. of Romances* (Brit. Mus.), II, pp. 580 ff.

167) = Brit. Mus. Arundel 16, ff. 1-43. This is Osbern's Life again. The manuscript is of the twelfth century, and has the Canterbury mark  $\vee\wedge$  in it. The title-page is missing, and ff. 39, 40, and half of 38 are supplied by a later hand. There are many marginal notes and two illuminated capitals, in one Dunstan with angels and in the other with monsters. This volume originally contained three other tracts now wanting :

(a) *Vita S. Ealphege martyris* (D. vii. 4. 45a = Cat. ii. 167).

(b) *Translacio S. Ealphege* (D. vii. 4. 64 = Cat. ii. 167).

(c) *Vita S. Odonis Archiepiscopi* (D. vii. 4. 69a = Cat. ii. 167).

9. EPISTOLE PETRI BLESSENSIS Henrico regi cxv (D. iii. 5 = Cat. ii. 135). Written about 1250 in several good hands. The title given in the work itself is *Epistole Mag. Petri Bles. Bathon. Archidiaconi*. At the end of the volume are a dozen leonine verses. The first four are addressed to a King Charles, urging him to punish false tongues. The second set runs as follows :

Francorum regi Soldanus mandat ut ipsi  
Mittat Lombardos tres potibus et dape largos,  
Nec . . . annos tres Normannos, tresque scientes,  
Et domitos Britones tot, et Anglos non cupientes.  
Soldano regis respondit Epistola, quod vis  
Et petis invenies cum de mare femina fies.

The Soldan of Egypt may be meant, to whom the king is said to have written a letter through Pope Alexander.

Peter of Blois, the writer of the Letters, was a great supporter and admirer of Richard, Prior of Dover, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and speaks up for him against his detractors. Hence the priory library had several copies of his works.

10. INTERPRETACIONES HEBREICORUM (J. ii. 6 = Cat. ii. 384) = C.C.C. Camb. MS. 462. The Library of Dover contained three other volumes with a similar title but with different beginnings. The book was attributed to Jerome. The present manuscript is of the twelfth century, and in a good hand of

the Canterbury type. The work is called in the book itself *Interpretaciones nominum*, and begins, f. 43, *Aethopiam tenebras ve(l) caliginem. Zazomin preparati in acie vel que est hec aqua*, and ends *de Epistola Barnabe*.

The volume contains also :

10a. *RECAPITULACIO HISTORIARUM BIBLIE* (Genesis to Ruth). This is the first tract in the volume and goes down to f. 42. It begins in a fine round hand, which soon changes. It treats of the Garden of Eden and Jacob's sons going into Egypt, and ends with *Sic transeamus ad caritatem que foras mittit timorem*.

(1) Following this, in an early fourteenth-century hand, is a copy of Henry I's charter giving the priory to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and on f. 135b, in an older hand, is a (2) second copy of the same. This charter was granted at Northampton and confirmed at Westminster. The second and older copy is dated 1131. (3) A confirmation of the grant by Innocent II.

10b. *Alphabetum hebreicorum et Grecorum*, f. 83b (Cat. ii. 385).<sup>1</sup> The Greek alphabet is given twice over, once with meanings attached.

10c. *Excerpta de Mag. Gilberto*. This, a very small item, is not entered separately in the Catalogues. But we find in it *Gilbertus in libro suo Universali* (Cat. ii. 196) and *Gilbertus in suo medecinali* (Cat. ii. 358), works by Gilbert the Englishman (circa 1205), who wrote a medical compendium, *Laurea Anglicana*.

10d. *Brief extracts from Pliny*, f. 85b : not in the Catalogue.

10e. *Consuetudines Lanfranci* addressed to Henry I, f. 87a. In Cat. ii. 276 there is another copy of these *Constitutiones Lanfranci*, if they are the same work.

10f. *Passio SS. Virginum Spes Fides Caritas cum matre sua*, who suffered on Kal. Aug. in the reign of Hadrian, f. 136. This is a prolix and absolutely useless specimen of spurious hagiography.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also J. iii. 8 = Cat. ii. 414, beginning *Athanathos et immo*.

A tract on the Purgatory of St. Patrick, of which there were two other copies in the library (C. iii. 6, and E. v. 7), was subsequently added to this volume.

11. GLOSE SUPER PSALTERIO (A. v. 3 = Cat. ii. 20) = C.C.C. Camb. MS. 365. Given (to the library) *ex dono Willelmi Warren' quondam maioris Doverrie*. But as he was Mayor in 1493, and as his book is entered in all three catalogues written 1389, and moreover the manuscript is in fifteenth-century hand, it is difficult to fit the facts together. It has the priory press-mark on f. 3. The book is by Richard Rolle, an Augustinian, who from the hermit's cell, which he occupied near Doncaster, is called Hampole. He died 1349. After various sentences in French and Latin, not all easy to interpret, follow notes in verse on the Sacrament and a note on the Signs of the Magi from Germanus historiographus and Theophilus Scriptor Gestorum Christi. On f. 2b are thirty leonine verses on the Sacrament, Marriage of Clergy, Baptism, Confession, Masses, and four lines on the relationship of the Virgin Mary and the Brethren of our Lord. They run:

Anna tribus ioachim Cleophe salomeque Marias  
Christum prima iosephum iacobum cum Simone iudam  
Tres parit: has ducunt iosephus Alpheus Zebedeus  
Alteraque sequitur iacobum parit atque iohannem,  
which require some elucidation.

Next come notes on the 'Ages of the World', ending with 1445. The Glosses are on Psalm i, *Beatus Vir* (the hand changing with *Parce michi, domine*), and on Psalm xx. The author holds that the Cross should have a secondary worship paid to it. There follows a short treatise on the Love of God. On f. 2 is the drawing of a dragon's head.

12. AUGUSTINUS DE CIVITATE DEI in xxii books (C. vi. 6 = Cat. ii. 113) = Trinity Coll. Oxf. MS. 59. The manuscript, which is of the fourteenth century, is imperfect by 12 ff. It came to the Trinity Library by gift of Robert Skinner, Bishop of

Bristol (1636-41), a former Fellow. At the foot of the page is a note *Anno Christi 1504; pertinet ad . . . ord. Cisterc. Lincoln. dioces. precii iij. s. iiiij. Qui alias alienaverit, anathema sit.*

The volume, which originally contained 178 ff., included, besides the above, *Capitula super eodem libro* f. 160a, and *Tabula super eodem libro*, f. 168a. On f. 166 is a fragment of Psalm lxxvii. On the fly-leaf 2v. is the name Robert Pyntz in a fourteenth-century hand, and on f. 3 is anno dñi 15099 [*sic*] in a hand of the same century, and on the lower margin of f. 131 the name Georgius Harrison of the same period.

13. ELUCIDARIUS (C. vii. 3 = Cat. ii. 119) = Bodleian MS. 678. The tract so called is a discussion on Theology between a master and pupil. It covers 51 ff. and was written in three books by Honorius Augustudonensis.<sup>1</sup> On f. 1b is a definition of the genus woman: *Mulier est viri confusio; insatiabilis bestia, animal pessimum. Item mulier formosa carnifex diaboli.* Other notes are on the eight parts of which man was formed, and on the melancholy reflection that *moritur doctus sicut indoctus sepe sine memoria.*

13a. On f. 52 begins the second treatise, *Excerpta de Pluribus* (Cat. ii. 119), made up of extracts from Quintilian, Symmachus, Ennodius, Cassiodorus, Cicero (de Officiis, Cato, Paradoxes, Laelius), the Elder Seneca's declamations, works of the Younger Seneca; Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, Philo, Wisdom; the *Vita Honesta*; <sup>2</sup> on Contrition; Terence.

This volume was perhaps written in France, like the Ovid below, and was given to the Bodleian in 1612 by Thomas Twyne.

14. EPISTOLE ORACII POETE (I. iii. 9 = Cat. i. 394, where there is a note J. Hede: *caret*) = Trin. Coll. Camb. MS.

<sup>1</sup> Four other copies were in the library, Cat. ii. 40, 112, 162, 401. Probably it was a book for the scholars or novices.

<sup>2</sup> By a Bishop Martin (?). See Cat. St. Aug., Cant., 1394. There were two copies at Dover, Cat. ii. 103, 106.

R. 3. 51. This book belonged to a monk Walter de Hornings-eye, and is of the early thirteenth century. It came to Trinity from Thomas Neville, Dean of Canterbury and Master of the College (1593-1625). On a fly-leaf at the end is a note, *Hanc literam scripsit Vilelmus de Ualoinis sine penna*.

On f. 1 are ten elegiac lines on the same subject as our Lord's parable of the 'Mote and the Beam', but with reference to Hor. *Sat.* i. 3. 73. No one who is suffering from a tumour has a right to reproach another for his warts. After the last line of Epistle II comes the writer's thankfulness at finishing his task: *Laus tibi sit, Christe, quoniam liber explicuit iste*.

14a. GALFRIDUS DE VINO SALVO (Vine Sauve), NOVA POETRIA (Cat. ii. 394); Geoffrey was an Anglo-Norman, but called *Anglicus*. His poem begins *Papa Stupor mundi*,<sup>1</sup> the Pope being Innocent III, and ran to over 2,000 hexameters. At line 366 begins a lament over Richard I: *Neustria sub clypeo regis defensa Ricardi*. The work was called *de Artificio loquendi*, or, more fully, *de arte dictandi, versificandi, et transferendi*. The author got his patronymic from his treatise *De plantatione arborum et conservatione fructuum, ubi de modo inserendi arbores aromaticas, fructus conservandi, vites et vina cognoscendi, vina inversa et deteriora reformandi*, a manuscript of which is at Cambridge.

14b. LIBRI DE ACCENTIBUS, called in Cat. ii. 394 *Officia gramaticorum*. It begins on f. 59 and ends 62a *gramatica vitare solociznum*.

14c. PRISCIANUS MINOR, called in Cat. ii. 394 *Precianus de accentu*. It is written in a different hand from preceding treatises. Begins on f. 65, *Hic incipiet ordo determinacionis accentus*, and ends *ut pape, euax*. On the verso of the last page is a recipe or prescription, mutilated and unintelligible.

<sup>1</sup> Which words also begin the treatise *Ars Kalendarii* in Cat. of St. Aug., Cant., no. 951, where this treatise too is found.



14d. DOCTRINALE PARVUM<sup>1</sup> (= Alani de Insula's *Proverbia*), ff. 67-81. This is a grammatical poem in elegiacs, beginning

A Phebo Phebe lumen capit a sapiente,  
Insipiens sensum quo quasi luce micat.

The writer's relief at finishing his task is expressed: *Hic liber est scriptus, qui scripsit sit benedictus.*

15. PRECIANUS MAGNUS Monachorum Dovorre (I. v. 3 = Cat. ii. 423) = Trin. Coll. Camb. R.G. 24. The manuscript is of the twelfth century, and consists of 204 ff. It has a heading in red and green capitals: *Juliano comiti et patricio Priscianus salutem.* Hands are sketched in here and there, pointing to certain passages, as we find in Cat. iii and in Whitefelde's Exposition of the Rule of St. Benedict in the Cathedral Library.

16. OVIDIUS DE FASTIS (I. iii. 8 = Cat. ii. 397) = Pembroke Coll. Camb. MS. 280. The manuscript is of the end of the twelfth century, and was acquired by Matthew Wren (1585-1667) from a Mr. Thompson's books. The volume originally contained seven other tracts and a table of contents, which are now missing, viz.:

- (a) f. 102. *Exempla Poetarum*: silvestrem tenui (Cat. ii. 397).
- (b) f. 81. *Tabula ipsorum exemplorum.*
- (c) f. 118. *Liber de correptis et productis*: A ante B brevis est (ibid.).
- (d) f. 129. *Mundi miracula septem*: Primum miraculum (ibid.).
- (e) f. 131. *Oracius (sed caret principium)* (ibid.).
- (f) f. 151. *Vita beati Francisci* (in verse): *Festa sacri cantabo* (ibid.).
- (g) f. 168. *Hildebertus de officio misse*: *Scribere proposui* (ibid.).
- (h) f. 183. *Micrologus et musica* (in verse): *Ut pateant parvis* (ibid.).

<sup>1</sup> The *Doctrinale Magnum*, by Alexander de Villa Dei, was also a Latin grammar in verse, of which there were several copies in our library, evidently for the use of the novices and scholars.

Dr. Alton, of Dublin, who is an authority on MSS. of Ovid, has kindly sent me some observations on this manuscript of the *Fasti*, which I will with his permission quote here. He is tentatively of the opinion that the hard, angular minuscule in which the manuscript is written is of a North French type (e. g. from Bec or Caen). But the indications as to its place of writing are not decisive. Only one hand is traceable in the book, and the commentaries and glosses are by the copyist, some being inserted at the time of transcription.

The manuscript is by no means without value for the text of the *Fasti*, for it seems to be the best of those five, on which we have to rely to recover the lost portion of the text of the tenth-century Fleury MS., which ends imperfectly at verse 24 of Book v. This manuscript from Dover was collated by Nich. Heinsius in or about 1646. The commentary and glosses are not mere excerpts from the current criticisms of the schools of the time, but show individuality. The work is a sort of variorum edition, in which alternative explanations of difficult passages are given, and no decision made between them. The transcriber, though he cannot be called a great scholar, was for his time respectable. He had evidently studied Horace, Juvenal, Lucian, and Statius, all authors whom he found ready to his hand on the priory shelves. Dr. Alton says that the only notes that throw any light upon the personality of the author are these :

iii. 445 (f. 33). *farra*] solent enim in festo hoc offerre genus segetis, que dicitur crescere invite, que nostra lingua *espelt* dicitur.

iii. 667. *bovilla* dicitur quasi villa boum ubi fit *bercherie*.

iii. 753. proprie dicitur crabro *burdun*, set ponitur hic pro 'apibus'.

iv. 737. Sicut nos solemus domos nostras ornari in festo iohannis.

iv. 745 (f. 440). Adde Dapes] s. super liba et fiscellatam milii vel lac vel *batirum*, et tunc erunt dapes.

17. TERENTIUS (I. iii. 16 = Cat. ii. 405) = Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 15. a 12. A manuscript of eleventh to twelfth century consisting of 81 ff., of which 67 and 68 are wanting. This was the only complete Terence in the library, and begins with the words *Sororem falso creditur*, from the versified plot of the *Andria* by Sulpitius Apollinaris. The coloured capitals resemble those which are also found in the *Virgil* below. The glosses are in two hands. There is a scribbled line in abuse of women, as there was in the *Elucidarius*:

*Femina pessima subdola perfida plena venenis.*

The 'weaker' sex seem to have got rather upon the nerves of the monks. Perhaps they remembered, as James Howell has pointed out, that women were too strong for the strongest man (Samson), and for the wisest man (Solomon); he might have added, and for the first man (1 Esd. iv. 32, 41).

18. *Stacius Magnus*, i. e. the *Thebais* (I. iii. 2 = Cat. ii. 391) = St. John's Coll. Camb. D. 12. Beside the press-mark are two heads of monks sketched in (with circles round them), as we find also in the other *Stacius* in Edinburgh. This manuscript, which is of the eleventh, or possibly tenth, century, came with the Earl of Southampton's bequest, like the Irish Psalter, and was priced at 20s. It is entitled *Volumen monachorum de Dovorya*. Professor H. W. Garrod collated and described this manuscript in the *Classical Review* for February 1904. He held it to be of no little value for the text of *Stacius*, and certainly the best manuscript of the *Thebais* in this country. It 'preserves the remarkable line iv. 716 (Kohlm.), hitherto only known from P.' Of the two recensions of this poem, the *Puteanus* (P.) and the later recension (B.), which superseded it, our manuscript belongs to the former, though it represents a P. tradition independent of P. itself. He identifies it tentatively with the *Anglicanus* of Heinsius, and relates it to the manuscript of the twelfth century at Magdalen College, Oxford. Though our manuscript, which he calls D., was written

in a clear, albeit faded, hand, several pages have been obliterated by the application of some chemical intended to resuscitate the characters. Completing the page at the conclusion of the *Thebais* a column and a half of hexameters can be read just enough to show that they are the twentieth Idyll of the pseudo-Ausonius, followed by the 'Lament of Oedipus'.<sup>1</sup>

Included in the same volume are :

18a. GLOSE SUPER PRECIANUM, ff. 51-79 (Cat. ii. 391).

18b. COMMENTATOR IN LIBRUM ELENCHORUM, f. 80 (Cat. ii. 391). The title in the book itself is *Commentum super Sophisticos elenchos*. It begins *Sicud ad disserendum in arte disciplinativa*. There is a break at f. 106b. The tract ends imperfectly at f. 111b, and as that was the number of folios assigned to it in the Catalogue, it must have been imperfect then.

18c. On the fly-leaf, but with the first line cut off, is an account roll of the Priory . . . *die prox. post festum S. Michaelis anno r.r.—xiiij<sup>mo</sup>* (probably = 13 Richard II, 1389). *Et Lib. (i. e. Liberat) ffratri Thome stake tunc sacriste*.

18d. Pasted in as a fly-leaf is also, as appears, the second page of an interesting list of vestments and ornaments of the Church, the work probably of the above-mentioned Sacrist. It mentions among the *ornamenta* the *superaltare de petra super quam martyrizatus est beatus* (Thomas). It is surprising that they were allowed to take away such a treasure from Canterbury, if, as appears, it was Becket's martyrdom, that is alluded to, and not that of Thomas de la Hale, the Dover martyr. In this list there is one word which required a Daniel to interpret it. Item *iiij candelabr' de ere ad summam altare ammaiat'*. Can it be for *ad maiestāt'*?

19. STACIUS MAGNUS, i. e. *Thebais* (I. iii. 7 = Cat. ii. 396) = Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, MS. 18. 5. 12. It is of the twelfth to thirteenth century, and was acquired at the sale

<sup>1</sup> For this cf. Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. ii. 263, and Edelstadt de Ménil, *Poésies du Moyen Âge*.

of the library of Sir James Balfour in 1657. It carries the Denmilne mark and has his inscription, *Ex libris Jacobi Balfourii Kynardiae Militis Leonie arm : Regis 1630*. The volume is inscribed *Monachorum Dovorrie*, and contains 210 ff., the Statius occupying 99 of these. On the fly-leaf is an abridged form of the prose argument of the *Thebais*, and the poem ends *Occidet et meriti post me referentur honores*. But this is followed by some additional lines

*Solvitur in primo fratrum concordia libro, &c.*

19a. In the same volume is included :

VIRGILIUS ENEYDOS, ff. 100-end. This is a clearly written manuscript in two hands with contemporary glosses, both interlinear and marginal, the latter partly cut away. As the manuscript does not seem (as far as I know) to have been collated, its value for the text of Virgil cannot be estimated.

There are one or two lines scribbled in English in this and the preceding book.

On f. 166 is a Latin memorandum as to property belonging to a Nicholas Golding, but it is very difficult to decipher. Many other jottings are found on ff. 108, 174, 175, 195, 200, and 201, e. g. the proverb :

- (1) Si rubeat mane parat ire Leander inane.
- (2) Simo de Scalis, scandens metuentibus alis,  
Corruit a scalis ad loca plena malis.
- (3) Nullus homo verum iam diligit. Odit Homerum  
Gens mala : sincerum non habet orbis herum.
- (4) Ecclesie sancte Marye pay reditur ante  
Quam scilicet per funus sub pectus de tribus unus. (? ?)
- (5) Finitus liber : reddatur cena magistro ;  
Finitus liber : frangentur crura magistro.

Does this point to the transcription being done by juniors under a master ?

There is also the well-known epigram on Rosamunda.

The only other book that needs mention here is a beautifully

written Bible, now in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> at folio 443 of which is inserted a Calendar of Saints' days with coloured initial letters. It evidently emanated from Dover, or Canterbury, as it marks the dedication day of Dover Priory church, and contains the usual Canterbury Saints.<sup>2</sup> Several names of successive owners appear in it, e. g. that of Roger Benett, as mentioned above.

We see than that out of the noble library at Dover Priory, consisting of 450 volumes, we have but a score still surviving, and of the 1,450 or so other treatises included in these volumes, there are but another score, with a few fragmentary pieces inserted. Four at least of these extant manuscripts are of importance and value, and we may suppose that this contributed to their preservation. These four are the Irish Psalter, notable for its antiquity, origin, and extraordinary illuminations; the Bible at Corpus Christi College; and the two classical MSS. of Ovid and Statius at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and St. John's, Cambridge, respectively.

We are naturally led to inquire what was the fate of all these manuscript volumes at the Dissolution. Bale's heartrending account of the ignorant vandalism of those, who, to our infinite loss, became the possessors of the property of the monasteries, is well known. Still more inexcusable was the conduct of the accredited commissioners of Edward VI at Oxford and elsewhere. To these we may add the testimony of old Fuller: 'As brokers in Long Lane, when they buy an old suit, buying the linings together with the outside; so it was conceived meet that such as purchased the buildings of monasteries should in the same grant have the libraries (the stuffing thereof) conveyed unto them; and these ignorant owners, so long as they might keep a Lieger book or Terrier, by direction thereof to find such straggling acres as belonged to them, they cared not to preserve any other monuments.'

A library like that of Dover could not possibly have been

<sup>1</sup> Egerton MS. 2867.

<sup>2</sup> See for these MS. Arundel 135.

worth less than £1,000, probably it was worth four or five times as much. Yet in the inventory of the goods of the priory, taken on 31 October 1534, just before it was actually dissolved, there is not so much as a mention of any books, while all sorts of worthless bedroom furniture and such-like stuff are carefully scheduled. Were the books really considered of no account, or had some influential nobleman or ecclesiastic, who knew their value, earmarked them for his own perquisite? If only the king and his advisers had been gifted with any vision, or been inspired with any sentiments of an intellectual or patriotic character, what a noble inheritance they could have left to our country by collecting and housing in some central building, one of the more splendid monasteries for choice, the thousands and thousands of interesting and invaluable manuscripts, which they took from their owners and cared not what became of them. We know one case where an entire library, unfortunately but a small one, viz. that of Bretton Priory in Yorkshire, was saved. The antiquary, J. Hunter, estimated their value at £20 a volume, which must surely be an over-estimate. These books were not catalogued till 1558, when they had been removed to Worsborough, a few miles from their original home.

If the date of Leland's <sup>1</sup> memorandum as to the two books which he noticed among the Dover Priory books, is, as has been stated, 1540, the library may still have been as yet undispersed. These were *Apuleius de Deo Socratis*, as he entitles it, and a *Historiola de Antiquitate Doveriensis oppidi*. Of the first there were two copies in the library (Cat. ii. 147, 335); of the second, none under that title is mentioned in the Catalogue. It may have been the *Evidencie Castri et prioratus Doverre*, (Cat. ii. 277), or *Cronica castri et prioratus fundacione* (Cat. ii. 224).

There is only one other mention of, and that a mere passing

<sup>1</sup> *Collectanea*, iv. 11, edit. 1770.



allusion to, the Dover books subsequent to the Dissolution. John Thompson, Master of the Maison Dieu, Dover, and Superintendent of the harbour works there under the Government, writes to Thomas Cromwell on 21 July 1536<sup>1</sup> as follows: 'Thursday last I was desired (? *by whom*) to the Priory to see ' what order was there, and found the doors broken up, the ' beds, board, wood, cocks of brass, bolts of iron, glass, &c. ' broken up and carried away. Certain persons had been in a ' dry draught under the sub-friar's [*sic*] chamber and found ' certain pieces of pewter, two cloths of diaper, *certain books*, ' and two ladders to make people to enter the house.'<sup>2</sup> He does not tell us what books these were, perhaps only Service books, such as are mentioned in the inventory of church *Ornamenta* spoken of above. The matter did not seem to interest him. But the little he did notice shows us what lamentable havoc had been made in these fine buildings within a very few months.

As the property and site of the priory were in 1535 made over at first to the notorious time-server and 'Vicar of Bray', Richard Thornden or Thornton, suffragan bishop of Dover, and one of the bitterest persecutors of Queen Mary's reign, he must have come, if Fuller's statement above cited is to be accepted, into the possession of the library as well, and he was not a man to forgo any of his advantages. But we have no means of knowing whether he, or another, took away the books, or otherwise disposed of them. They obviously could not have been there when Thompson visited it.

Two years later the property was made over by Henry VIII to Archbishop Cranmer, a much more worthy recipient, whom we could have wished might have been the first grantee, and

<sup>1</sup> State Papers and Letters, Henry VIII, under date.

<sup>2</sup> The priory grounds were within a hundred yards of the Maison Dieu, and Thompson must have had the demolition of the priory, as it proceeded, under his very eyes.

his successors in the See of Canterbury. They still possess it under the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. As the century went on, we find a few *disiecta membra* of the library drifting into the hands of various bibliophiles like the Earl of Southampton, Crashaw, Parker, Sir Robert Cotton, and others, and eventually finding a permanent home in our national and collegiate libraries. The bulk of the books have disappeared, none knows where. But a few more no doubt remain still lying hidden in unsearched corners of our libraries. The Fire of London alone consumed £150,000 worth of books, and very much valuable literature must have perished then. But we may be permitted to hope that Dr. James will add to our gratitude for the valuable work he has done already for our records of monastic libraries by discovering the hiding-place of still more flotsam and jetsam from the bookshelves of Dover Priory.

## THE FIRST TYPEFOUNDING IN MEXICO

By DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE



THE earliest known typefounding on the American continents is ascribed to the native press of the Jesuit Missions in Paraguay in the opening years of the eighteenth century. It is believed by competent authorities—among them José Toribio Medina and Lawrence C. Wroth—that the types used in the printing of these early Paraguayan doctrinal booklets were cut and cast by the Indians, who were reported to have great skill as artisans in varied lines.

The earliest unequivocal reference to typefounding in America, as has been pointed out by Mr. Wroth, is on the title-page of a Mexico City imprint of 1770: *Descripcion del Barreno Ingles* by Joseph Antonio de Alzate Y Ramirez. At the foot of the title-page we read: 'Impressa con las licencias 'necessarias, en Mexico en la Imprenta del Lic. D. Joseph de 'Jauregui, en la Calle de S. Bernardo, Año de 1770. Los 'caracteres de esta Impression han sido fabricados en esta 'ciudad por D. Franciso Xavier de Ocampo, a expensas de 'dicho D. Joseph de Jauregui.' Here is a clear statement, and of it Mr. Wroth writes: 'Except for the Paraguayan incident, 'there has been found no evidence that would suggest the 'occurrence of earlier attempts than this at letter casting in 'Spanish America. Certainly, unless the casting of type in 'Mexico in 1770 had been an uncommon operation, Joseph de 'Jauregui would not have proclaimed the completion of a font 'of native-made letters in so conspicuous a place as the title-'page of a book.'

In the course of some studies on the early history of printing in Mexico, I have encountered a document which sets back

the date of the first typefounding in Mexico City over two hundred years and the first typefounding in the Americas over a hundred and fifty years. It will be recalled that the first printer in Mexico about whose work and record there is no question whatever was Juan Pablos, who was sent out from Seville as the agent of Juan Cromberger to operate a printing-office in the latter's name. There is some evidence tending to show that Esteban Martin had been printing in Mexico City about 1535, but as to Pablos the facts are perfectly clear, and we have record of an imprint of 1539.

Cromberger died soon after his printing-office was established in Mexico. Pablos continued to operate it for the heirs in none too energetic fashion, and in 1548 had obtained title to the establishment, details of the transaction not being known to us. In that year he applied for and obtained from the Viceroy the exclusive privilege for printing in Mexico for a period of six years.

The initial equipment of the Pablos-Cromberger office had been sent from Seville. In order to discourage competition it was expressly specified in the contract that any worn-out types should be melted up rather than sold. Perhaps in the course of a decade most of his types were worn out, and he faced the alternative of importing a new supply from Spain or of settling the question permanently by importing a typefounder. It was this latter course he determined upon.

In the notarial records of the city of Seville we find a contract between Antonio de Espinosa, a typefounder of Seville, and Juan Lopez, acting by power of attorney for Juan Pablos of Mexico City, whereby Espinosa agreed for certain remuneration to go to Mexico City to enter the employ of Pablos. He was to take with him Diego de Montoya, and the two engaged to 'cut and cast types' for Pablos.

It is apparent the agreement was carried through, for at least two reasons. First, we find Antonio de Espinosa in

Mexico City in 1559, Medina saying it is not known when he first arrived. In that year he went back to Spain to have the exclusive privilege held by Pablos abrogated and to secure for himself permission to print in Mexico. This permission he obtained on the plea that the prices charged by Pablos were prohibitive.

Secondly, soon after 1550 there came a radical change in the typography of the Pablos press. In all the books which I have seen printed in Mexico before that date gothic types only were used. From 1554 on we find a wide variety of new roman and italic types, some of them very handsome. The extent of the typographic equipment would support the presumption of a local type-supply.

All things considered, we seem justified in regarding Antonio de Espinosa as the first typefounder on the American continent.

The document on which our conclusions are based has been published by D. José Gestoso y Perez in his collection of documents on the early printers of Seville: *Noticias Ineditas de Impresores Sevillanos*, Sevilla, 1924. The portions relevant to the subject under discussion are here given in translation :

September 24, 1550

Pablo Juan

Let all who see this letter know that I, Antonio de Espinosa, typefounder, citizen of this city of Seville in the precinct of San Juan de La Palma, declare and acknowledge that I have agreed and covenanted with you, Juan Pablo, printer by decree of His Majesty in New Spain, now absent, and with you, Juan Lopez, viola player, just now arrived from New Spain and present, and by virtue of the power of attorney which you hold, which was made out before Diego de Ysla, His Majesty's notary in the city of Mexico, on the 25th of February of this year '50, and reads as follows : . . . [Here follows the power of attorney authorizing Lopez to make collections and execute business on behalf of Pablos.]

In such manner that I, the said Antonio de Espinosa, be bound and bind myself to go and take with me Diego de Montoya to the said city of Mexico, both of us to be with you, the said Juan Pablo, working in the said capacity of typefounder and cutter, from the day I enter the said city of Mexico for three full years, the

first three succeeding years. And in consideration thereof, you will give us food and drink, house and bed. And moreover, to me, the said Diego [obviously a clerical error for Antonio] de Espinosa, 150 ducats of gold for every year, and to the said Diego de Montoya through me, the said Antonio de Espinosa, 48 ducats every year, so that, in all, you are to give me, Antonio de Espinosa, every year 198 ducats of gold of 375 maravedis each, which you will pay me by thirds of the year without any litigation. And moreover, you are to give me and the said Diego de Montoya transportation and food, good and plenty, from here to Mexico, and obtain for us a satisfactory house. And moreover, you are to give me during . . . [lacuna in the original] the voyage to me and the said Diego de Montoya, from the time that we leave the port of this city until we arrive in Mexico, food to eat and eight ducats every month, payable in the said city of Mexico. And moreover, you are to give us in advance 40 ducats in this city, a month before we leave this city. And in this manner I promise and bind myself to go on the said voyage, and to take the said Diego de Montoya, and to fulfil all the aforesaid, under penalty of 50,000 maravedis, which the party breaking the contract shall pay to the party observing it, with costs. And I empower the courts to force and compel me to fulfil it properly and as if it were a thing arranged and adjudged in a lawsuit, in addition to which I renounce any laws in my favour. And inasmuch as I am older than seventeen and younger than twenty-five, I swear and promise by God, Holy Mary, the Holy Apostles, and the sign of the cross, which I make with the fingers of my hands in the presence of the notary and the undersigned witnesses, not to allege or claim any consideration because of my age, nor to ask restitution contrary to what is contained in this writing or part of it. And I, the said Juan Lopez, in the name of the said Juan Pablos, and by virtue of the said power of attorney, covenant that I bind the said Juan Pablos to all that is contained in this writing, and that he will do and carry out and pay as we say; and that I, the said Juan Lopez, bind myself, in my person and property, to pay and fulfil all that has been declared above, in Mexico as well as on the sea, and to give you and the said Antonio de Espinosa the said 40 ducats in this city, and all the aforementioned without failing you in any thing, under penalty of the said 50,000 maravedis. To this end, I empower the courts of Their Majesties, wherever they may be, to force me . . . [the legal formulas follow].

The document is dated at Seville, in the office of the aforementioned notary, Wednesday, 24 September 1550.

‘A HUNDRETH SUNDRIE FLOWRES’

To the Editor of *The Library*.

DEAR SIR,

As the editor of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* I feel that I have been highly honoured by the insertion in your Dec. 1926 issue of a review of the book by so distinguished a bibliographical authority as Dr. W. W. Greg. I do not wish in any way to combat his views, but I should like to be allowed to indicate one or two minor points which may, if unanswered, lead to a mistaken impression. I have also had my attention directed to two rather interesting pieces of new evidence which I have incorporated in this letter.

1. The first point is with regard to the date of *The Posies of George Gascoigne*. Dr. Greg says: ‘The date of the *Posies* is rather less certain. We have seen that the epistle to the ‘Divines is dated 1 January 1574/5. This is followed by ‘another “To al yong Gentlemen” again dated “From my ‘poore house at Waltamstow in the Forest the second of ‘Ianuarie. 1575.” On the analogy of the other epistle Mr. ‘Ward very naturally takes this to mean 2 January 1575/6. ‘This however is not certain . . . and I have no doubt whatever ‘in my own mind that in subscribing the two epistles to the ‘*Posies* (Gascoigne) has simply been inconsistent.’

But here I must point out that Dr. Greg has made a slip. The epistle to the Divines is really dated ‘the last day of Ianuarie 1574’ and not the first. In other words, if we assume, with Dr. Greg, that Gascoigne was using the new style in dating the letter ‘To al yong Gentlemen’, it follows that this letter was written twenty-nine days before the epistle to the Divines. Of course there is no inherent reason why it should not have been written first, except that in the *Posies* it comes after the letter to the Divines. But that Gascoigne should on 2 January employ the new style, on 31 January



revert to the old style, and then print the 31 January letter before the 2 January letter seems to me rather odd.

In this connexion it is desirable to point out the Elizabethan practice with regard to New Year's Day. It was the custom at the Court to give the Queen New Year presents, and this ceremony took place on 1 January, the dating employed being invariably new style.<sup>1</sup> Now the *Tale of Hemetes* was a New Year gift from Gascoigne to the Queen; and when he dated it 1 January 1576 he undoubtedly meant 1576 N.S.<sup>2</sup> So far, therefore, from his being inconsistent with regard to the two styles of dating he was merely following the universal custom in use at the Court. I cannot therefore agree with Dr. Greg when he makes the following remark:

What Mr. Ward fails to inform us is that *The Tale of Hemetes* is actually dated in the manuscript 1 January '1576'. There is every reason to believe, with Mr. Ward, that this means 1575/6, but it proves that Gascoigne sometimes followed the old and sometimes the modern fashion of dating. . . .

On the contrary, it appears to me that Gascoigne was quite consistent in his dating, and the evidence seems absolutely clear that the *Posies* cannot have been published before 2 January 1576.

2. The second point deals with 'spreta tamen vivunt'. When I wrote the Introduction to the *Flowres* I had not been able to identify the owner of this 'posy'; but the following extract from a letter which appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 1 July 1926, p. 448, may be of interest:

With reference to the review of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* published in your issue of the 10th current, I think it may perhaps interest your readers to know

<sup>1</sup> Vide Nichols's *Progresses*, where there are many lists of New Year presents given to the Queen.

<sup>2</sup> Lest any doubts exist as to the real date of *Hemetes*, the following facts speak for themselves. Gascoigne on two occasions gave the Queen New Year gifts: the first, *Hemetes*, dated 1 Jan. 1576; and the second, *The Grief of Joy*, dated 1 Jan. 1577. Now, if these dates are to be read as old style we should get 1576/7 and 1577/8 respectively; but as he died in October 1577 it is obvious that the dates must be new style.

that one of the hitherto unidentified 'sundrie Gentlemen' who contributed 'devises' to the volume may have been Sir Gervase Holles, born 1547, died 1628, grandfather of Gervase Holles, the well-known antiquary. Seven of the poems are signed *Sproeta* (or *Spreta*) *tamen vivunt*; and this motto is found on a portrait of Sir Gervase Holles, painted in 1586, now in the collection of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey. It is not the motto of the family, but was evidently one adopted by Sir Gervase Holles for himself. . . .

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

RICHARD W. GOULDING.

This evidence brought forward by Mr. R. W. Goulding, F.S.A., the Duke of Portland's librarian, tends to support the view that several authors were concerned in the *Flowres*; for it is difficult to reconcile the hypothesis that *spreta tamen vivunt* was a literary 'posy' of George Gascoigne, with the undeniable fact that it was the recognized personal motto of Sir Gervase Holles. I have not been able to find out if Sir Gervase was a poet, but it would be interesting if any further light could be thrown on this matter.

This brings me to another point with regard to the 'posies' or Latin mottoes in the *Flowres*. Dr. Greg takes me severely to task for not mentioning the fact that when Gabriel Harvey addressed one of his *Gratulationes Valdinenses* to Lord Oxford in 1578 he gives his 'symbolum' not as *meritum petere grave* but as *Vero nil verius*. Now *Vero nihil verius* was the Vere family motto that they had carried on their coat of arms since the first de Vere landed in England with William the Conqueror. It was no more the personal 'symbolum' of the seventeenth Earl of Oxford than the motto 'Ich dien' is the private property—I had almost said monomark!—of the present Prince of Wales. All the 'posies' in the *Flowres* are purely personal tags, with which the authors signed their poems, and have nothing to do whatsoever with heraldry.

3. Thirdly, I must admit that I made a serious slip when I quoted Nicolas in his life of Hatton as saying 'quite unequivocally' that 'my lord of Crm' was Lord Oxford. Dr. Greg

has very properly pointed out that what Nicolas really said was 'Query Oxford'. But when Dr. Greg goes on to say that 'of all people Oxford seems the most improbable' he is surely going too far, for this implies that Nicolas had no foundation whatever for his suggestion. As a matter of fact Nicolas had a very good reason for supposing that 'my lord of Crm' stood for Oxford. This reason lies in the letter written by Hatton to the Queen when he was abroad in 1573. He had evidently received some present from Her Majesty, because he writes :

It is a gracious favour most dear and welcome unto me ; reserve it to the Sheep, he hath no tooth to bite, where the Boar's tusk may both raze and tear.<sup>1</sup>

Now nobody to my knowledge has ever denied that the 'sheep' is Hatton himself—one of the Queen's nicknames for him was her 'mouton'—and the 'boar' Lord Oxford, whose crest was a blue boar ; and Nicolas has accepted this interpretation without question. It is difficult therefore to see how the existence of rivalry between Hatton and Oxford, both young and rising stars at Court, can be denied. When therefore Nicolas read Dyer's letter to Hatton, written in 1572, where he urges Hatton to hate

my lord of Crm in the Queen's understanding for affections sake, and blaming him openly for seeking the Queen's favour. . . . Marry, thus much would I advise you to remember, that you use no words of disgrace or reproach towards him to any ; that he, being the less provoked, may sleep, thinking all safe, while you do awake and attend to your advantages . . .

he was surely justified in supposing that Oxford was the most likely person to fit the case.

4. Fourthly, Dr. Greg says that I have quoted no authority for the long account of how Lord Oxford boasted of his military exploits in the Low Countries. As a matter of fact the authority, S.P. Domestic, vol. 151, article 45, will be found on page 193 among the notes.

5. Finally, Dr. Greg says that it is bibliographically inad-

<sup>1</sup> See my Introduction, p. xxxiv ; it is also printed by Nicolas.

missible to regard the two plays as a separate book from the rest. I would not, of course, venture to dispute this; but one point may perhaps be worth raising. We read in the epistle of H. W. to the Reader—which comes after the plays and before *Master F. I.*—that

... my familiar friend Master G. T. bestowed uppon me y<sup>e</sup> reading of a written Booke, wherein he had collected divers discourses & verses, invented uppon sundrie occasions, by sundrie gentlemen ...

and that he has presumed to christen it

... by the name of A hundreth sundrie Flowers.

Is there any reason for the use of this word 'hundreth'? The answer is, I think, simple. It will be found that if we include the thirteen lyrics signed F. I. in the *Adventures of Master F. I.*, there are exactly a hundred lyrics and poems in the book, excluding the two plays. I cannot think that this is just a coincidence; and I suggest that H. W. originally intended to publish these hundred poems by Gascoigne and 'sundrie gentlemen' as an anthology on the same lines as Tottel's *Miscellany*. I only discovered that there were exactly a hundred poems while compiling the index, which explains why I did not advance it as an argument in the text of the introduction. It seems to me that while we may admit that it is technically incorrect to omit the two plays and the prose portions of *Master F. I.*, we must surely agree that H. W.'s original intention was a poetical miscellany more or less on the lines of the one Tottel had printed sixteen years before.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

B. M. WARD.

DR. GREG'S ANSWER

Through the kindness of the Editor I have been allowed to see Mr. Ward's letter in proof and I am anxious to do what I can to clear up the points at issue between us.

1. In the passage quoted from my review '1 January' is undoubtedly a slip for '31 January', and an unfortunate one. But that it is a mere slip or misprint is clear from the previous page (where the date is correctly given as 'this last day' of January), and it formed no basis of my argument. This I will endeavour to make clearer. In the first place, as I have repeatedly had occasion to point out (e.g. *The Library*, vi. 340), Old and New Style have nothing to do with the case. In Elizabeth's reign no one in England used New Style, but many people reckoned by the Calendar Year (beginning on 1 January) rather than by the Legal or Marian Year (beginning on 25 March). Secondly, a New Year's gift could of course only be given on New Year's Day, which was never anything but 1 January. But when Gascoigne presented *Hemetes* to the Queen on 1 January 1575/6, he was quite at liberty to date it either 1 January 1575 or (as he did) 1 January 1576. I know no warrant for Mr. Ward's assertion that New Year presents were invariably dated according to the Calendar reckoning. He has confused New Year's Day (1 January) with the day on which people altered the year-number (which for some was 1 January, for others 25 March). Thirdly, we know for certain that in *Hemetes* Gascoigne reckoned by the Calendar Year and that in the Epistle to the Divines he reckoned by the Marian Year. It follows, as I said, that his practice (like that of many writers at the time) was not consistent; and consequently when we find another letter, to all Young Gentlemen, dated 'the second of Ianuarie. 1575.' there is no *a priori* means of determining whether 1574/5 or 1575/6 is meant. Inconsistency in dating the preliminaries of a single book is certainly awkward and careless, but it is by no means unlikely. Neither is it unlikely that an inconsistent writer, after adopting the new year-number on 2 January, should slip back into using the old one on 31 January. Fourthly, a preliminary epistle is of the nature of a covering letter, often later in composi-

tion to the matter that follows it. Consequently if a second letter is added the same arrangement will very likely be followed, and the later epistle be placed before the earlier one. These are the considerations that lead me to conclude that my assumption of inconsistency in the method of dating is less improbable than Mr. Ward's assumption that eleven months and more elapsed between the writing of the two epistles.

2. It is interesting to know that *Spreta tamen vivunt* was used as a motto by Sir Gervase Holles—there is no reason why it should not have been used by others as well. But I would point out that unless there is some reason to suppose that Holles was a poet the new fact tends rather to negative than to support the view that the 'posies' are genuine indications of authorship. As to *Vero nil verius*—which may have come over with the Conqueror, though I rather doubt it!—the point is that Harvey treats it as Oxford's 'symbolum', exactly on a par with Hatton's *Felix infortunatus*. And considering the play which Mr. Ward made with Harvey as his sole witness in the case of Hatton, I should have expected him at least to allude to his evidence in the case of Oxford.

3. It may very well have been Hatton's letter to the Queen that prompted Nicolas's guess that 'my L. of Crm:' was Oxford, but I think it no less improbable. Oxford was certainly in favour in 1572, and it would surely have been indiscreet to advise a rival openly to disparage him to the Queen—if that is indeed the meaning of Dyer's curiously obscure phrase. Anyhow, until some explanation is offered of the mysterious form 'Crm:', guessing at the person intended seems idle.

4. I apologize for not observing Mr. Ward's reference in the notes at the end of his volume. I now also notice that on p. 191 he gives a reference for the Will of John Bacon, which Miss Ambrose was unable to find (*R. E. S.* ii. 167). Will not

Mr. Ward print at least extracts from this important document, which is really (on his showing) the crucial authority for the Boyes marriage?

5. There is here no very definite point in issue. It is quite possible that the title of the volume was suggested by the number of the poems of 'sundrie gentlemen' *plus* those embedded in the *F. I. Adventures*, and it is impossible to prove that at no time was there an intention to publish these without the plays. But such intention never obtained in the printing house: bibliographically it is the plays rather than the poems that form the nucleus of the volume. And that the title actually given to the whole composite collection is claimed in H. W.'s address for one part only seems to me rather to point to the fictitious character of his assertions. The whole design and 'editing' of the volume is careless in the extreme. Strictly H. W.'s address, in which he christens the book 'A hundreth sundrie Flowers', belongs only to the *Adventures*, below the head-title to which it is printed.

W. W. G.



## REVIEWS

*Vulgaria*. By WILLIAM HORMAN, Fellow and Vice-Provost of Eton College. First printed by Richard Pynson in 1519. Now reprinted with an introduction by MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, Provost of Eton College. Oxford. Printed for presentation to Members of the Roxburghe Club. 1926. pp. xxx, 455.

NEVER, surely, was school-book presented in so magnificent a form as that in which the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres has reprinted Horman's *Vulgaria* for presentation to his fellow members of the Roxburghe Club. He himself is content to be represented in the book by a very graceful little preface; the supervision of the reprint has been entrusted to the most fitting of all possible editors, Dr. Montague James, who contributes an introduction of some length, and appendixes giving a list of Horman's works, of manuscripts, a few printed books, and church goods and vestments given by him to Eton, also copies of his will and epitaph. Horman was a Salisbury man, who became a scholar of Winchester College in 1468, a Fellow of New College in 1475, Head master of Eton ten years later, and Head master of Winchester in 1494. How long he was at Winchester is not made clear, but he was back at Eton as a Fellow by 1503 and after serving as Bursar and Precentor was for the last ten years of his life Vice-Provost, dying early in 1535. His *Vulgaria* printed by Pynson in 1519 is thus the outcome of his work at Eton, and as it was printed for the author, with a clause in the agreement (preserved by a happy chance in the Record Office) by which 'the seyde Mr Richarde Pynson byndythe and promysythe hymselfe by an othe that he shall not prynte, nether do, or geue or cause to be pryn-tyde' more than the stipulated number of eight hundred copies which he was to deliver to Horman, it is fairly clear that it was intended to be exclusively for use at Eton and for gifts to his friends, not for public sale. The contract for printing (first made public by Furnivall in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1868, with comments by himself

and William Blades) distinctly specifies that of the whole number of quires of which the book is made up 'on halfe be sngle quayr and the other dowble', and this was carried out with great regularity, each of twenty-seven double quires of eight leaves being followed by a single of four, with an extra single quire at the end, making fifty-five quires in all, giving a total of 328 leaves, which Dr. James has misreckoned at 316. It is very interesting to find an author stipulating with his printer for this alternation. I have never seen any explanation of the reason for it, and can only suggest that by interposing thin quires between the thicker ones books were more flexible and easier to bind.<sup>1</sup> Another stipulation relates to payment, which was to be made at the rate of five shillings a printed ream, amounting in all to £32 16s.<sup>2</sup> Of this forty shillings was to be paid as earnest money, the payment for 500 copies to be completed on the delivery of the whole edition and for the remaining 300 a twelvemonth later. The cost of production was a fraction of a farthing under 10d. a copy.

In the contract the book is said to consist of thirty-five chapters or sections; as printed, it has thirty-seven, and they embrace a good variety of subjects. After noting Dr. James's assurance that 'there is no chapter of the *Vulgaria* which 'could not be made to furnish matter for more or less enter-

<sup>1</sup> I first became interested in the practice in cataloguing Strasburg incunables, in which the alternation is fairly common, and sometimes takes the more elaborate form of sequences of as many as six quires repeated in the same order. Martin Schott has runs of eights and sixes in several of his books; in an undated *Sequentiae* of Prüss at the British Museum (IA. 1765) there is a sequence of eight followed by two sixes extending from quire A to S; in his *Boethius de consolatione* of 1491 we get four repetitions of a sequence of four sixes followed by an eight; other examples will be found in the Museum Catalogue under the 'Printer of Jordanus' and Martin Flach. The notation invented (a-s<sup>8-6-6</sup>) was intended not only to save space (as compared with a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>6</sup> c<sup>6</sup> d<sup>8</sup> e<sup>6</sup> f<sup>6</sup> g<sup>8</sup> h<sup>6</sup> i<sup>6</sup> k<sup>8</sup> l<sup>6</sup> m<sup>6</sup> n<sup>8</sup> o<sup>6</sup> p<sup>6</sup> q<sup>8</sup> r<sup>6</sup> s<sup>6</sup>), but to call attention to the practice.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Blades said £32 15s., but he omitted a fifth of a ream.

'taining discourse on the manners, learning, and language of 'the early years of the sixteenth century', skimmers of the book may be inclined to think that it would need a lecturer of Dr. James's mingled erudition and humour to make the promise good. Certainly there are plums in the pudding, but they do not lie very thick, and the book is not to be compared for entertainment with those provided half a century later by Holyband. Horman, indeed, was too interested in words, and the wrong words at that, to have eyes for the life of his own time. According to Dr. James he must have read 'practically the whole range of the ancient Latin literature known in his day', and possibly with some help from his friends he picked from it, along with good Latin idioms, many horrible words, often made up of Greek, and invented sentences to introduce them. On one page we find *holosericum*, *barbaricarii*, *plumarii*, *polymitarii*, *patagearii*, and we are told that 'clothynge of chamlet is greatly take up' is the meaning of 'Vestis vndulata, vel cymatilis est in frequenti usu', yet on the opposite page 'Vndulata vestis temporis seruit lugubri' is translated 'A garment of here (i. e. hair) serueth for wailing tyme'. It is significant also that Horman paganizes the religious vocabulary of his day. Thus a priest about to say Mass is 'numini operaturus', the server is called 'hierodulus', to take Holy orders is 'ad initia admitti', and Adam must no longer be called by his name but 'prothoplastus'. Fortunately Horman's English is much racier than his Latin, and the book is sufficiently well worth study for it to be a good deed on Lord Crawford's part to have multiplied copies of it.

A. W. P.

*Essays and Verses About Books.* By BEVERLY CHEW. New York, 1926. Printed by D. B. Updike. The Merrymount Press, Boston, in November, 1926. 275 copies. pp. xii, 108.

A BANKER by profession and by choice a collector of English belles-lettres and a friend and guide of other collectors, Mr.

Chew did not often set pen to paper to write about the books he loved, but when magazines for book-lovers were started by hopeful venturers in the United States he loyally helped them with notes and brief articles and showed similar kindness on other occasions. Thus more than a dozen pieces of his writing existed in various inaccessible volumes, and no more appropriate memorial of the most honoured of American bookmen can be conceived than this little sheaf of his 'essays and verses about books', which has been collected for presentation to the author's friends, by the President of the Grolier Club, Mr. W. B. Osgood Field, prefaced by the Club's admirable secretary, Miss Ruth Granniss, and printed by Mr. Updike. Only three sets of verses are given: *Old Books are Best*, which the anthologists long ago discovered, the lines 'On an excellent copy of *Nell Gwynn*', and the little poem 'On a leaf from a Fourteenth-Century Missal', hitherto only printed privately in an edition of some ten copies at the Gilliss Press. The religious feeling which inspires this is evident also in the first of the Essays, a talk about the Primer of Henry the Eighth printed in 1546. After touching on the general history of primers Mr. Chew gives an analysis of the contents of this of 1546 and pleads for the use of some collects which the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer rejected. This is followed by praise of Humphrey Moseley as 'A Poet's Publisher', in which, warming to his subject, Mr. Chew permits himself the opinion that Moseley was a true lover of the literature of his country, and that his motive, in his publications, 'was to "renew the wonted honour and esteem of our English tongue" rather than "any private respect of gain".' That Moseley was a lover and good judge of English verse is likely enough, but when Mr. Chew in a later essay comes to talk of the first edition of Waller's Poems in which Moseley, while actually using the sheets of what he calls Walkley's 'adulterate copy, surreptitiously and illegally printed to the

derogation of the Author and the abuse of the Buyer', assured the reader that 'in this Booke they appeare in their pure originals', Mr. Chew has to speak of 'The Poet's Publisher' less favourably. In an excellent little sketch of the engraved work of William Marshall Mr. Chew again shows himself somewhat too tender in writing of the Milton portrait as 'a beautiful plate', marred, it is true, by making the poet look too old, and again we find a corrective when we turn to the mention of the same plate in the Essay on Portraits of Milton. The tenderness is the tenderness of the collector taking the best view of his treasures; when Mr. Chew writes as a bibliographer on the shortcomings of various 'Catalogues of American First Editions' he shows himself trenchant enough. Two important contributions to bibliography come after these lighter papers, both fully illustrated with facsimiles, one on the First Edition of Waller's Poems, the other on the Three Parts of Hudibras. Then the volume ends with the graceful tributes to Robert Hoe and Winston H. Hayden, written to be prefixed to their sale-catalogues, and the poem 'On a leaf from a Fourteenth-Century Missal', and we are left with the impression of a charming nosegay, very skilfully arranged.

A. W. P.

*A Bibliography of Early English Law Books.* Compiled for the Ames Foundation by JOSEPH HENRY BEALE, Royall Professor of Law in Harvard University. Cambridge [Mass.], at the University Press (London, Humphrey Milford), 1926. pp. viii, 304.

PROFESSOR BEALE begins his preface by pointing out that he is 'neither a trained bibliographer nor an experienced copyist', and 'has had no sufficient chance to examine the books in any large library except that of the Harvard Law School', so that he has prepared this bibliography of English Law books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries 'because no one else had done it or seemed likely to do it'. This is a good reason in itself, and derives further cogency from the fact that as the

Harvard Law School has an exceptionally fine law library attached to it, the list comes from the quarter from which it might most reasonably be expected. No scientific merit is claimed for the book, 'it is only a check-list by which those who handle law-books may estimate their wares', title-pages and colophons are quoted only so far as is necessary to identify the books, 'the collation also is only for the purpose of making sure of the whole text', and 'size, type, and contents, so important in a scientific bibliography, have been omitted'. The omission of sizes is really regrettable, because it is important to know whether a book is in folio, quarto, octavo, or sextodecimo, and to distinguish between these sizes is not difficult. Another matter for regret is that information as to the 'copies known' of each edition instead of following the main entry is given in tabular form in an Appendix. It is possible that by printing his titles separately Professor Beale may have obtained more information as to copies than would otherwise have come to him. On the other hand, the statements in the Tables do not always agree with those in the List. Thus to take three early instances, Pynson's *Nova Statuta* are assigned to c. 1507 in the List and (less wisely) to c. 1500 in the Table; an imperfect copy of an edition of *Magna Carta* is placed before an edition of 1529 in the List, but only in the Table is it assigned to Pynson, 1527, and as the only copy quoted is that at Harvard we want to know where the date 1527 comes from; so again an undated *Magna Carta* from Redman's press appears in the Table as printed in [1540]. Also the order of the entries in the Tables fairly often differs from that in the List. If the 'copies known' had been stated at the end of each main entry the list would have been much easier to use and the value of the attributions of date, &c., easier to estimate. Having got off these two grumbles I have nothing but praise for Professor Beale's work. He arranges his entries under three headings: (i) Statutes registering 307(+2) editions, subdivided under Col-

lections (in seven sections), Abridgements (in four), and Session Laws; (ii) Decisions, registering 480(+7) editions, divided into Year Books, Abridgements, and Reports; and (iii) Treatises, registering 501(+39) editions, subdivided into Tracts in Rastell's Collection, with 16 sub-sections, Anonymous Treatises, and Other Treatises. Thus he registers altogether no fewer than 1,336 editions and issues of English law books printed before the close of 1600. His information is derived from twenty-five libraries, eighteen of them English (British Museum, Bodleian, and four college libraries, U.L.C., and six college libraries, the Inner Temple, Lincoln's Inn, Lambeth, J.R.L., and, surprisingly, Sandhurst) and the other seven American (Congress, Harvard Law School, Huntington, Morgan, Albany, Columbia, and the San Francisco Law School), and he seems to have made good use of them. I gather from two or three hours' collation of his book with the *Short Title Catalogue of English Books 1475-1640*, published by the Bibliographical Society, that he has got together rather more entries, and that his lists are rather better arranged and a little more accurate than those in the S.T.C., but I think that the compiler of the large heading *England* in the S.T.C. (with which I meddled less than with any other) has reason to congratulate himself that in a subject which he was merely taking in his stride as it came along he has got so close to the results attained by a Professor of Law working with a specialist law library at his elbow. A comparison of the first hundred and twenty entries of year-books suggests to me that the year-books of Edw. III. 22 and 25, nos. 9568 and 9569a in the S.T.C., are only parts of nos. 9566, a collection of those of years 22-8 of Edward's reign; Mr. Beale quotes a variant of no. 9600 distinguished by the absence of a colophon, and another of 9608 in which the colophon has not been inked—perhaps this last should be noted as a peculiarity rather than a variation! He quotes also a collection of year-books, Henry V. 1-9, Tottel, 1587,



and an undated Pynson edition of that of Henry VI. 4, which I can't find in the S.T.C. This, on the other hand, has a Tottel edition of 1584 (copy at the Bodleian) of the year-book (Henry VI. 9, Easter Term), which I think Professor Beale has missed. Otherwise the two lists seem equally complete and in general agreement except as to dates ascribed to undated issues, which the bibliographers of the future must be left to investigate. A similar examination of the first seventy entries of Statutes shows three entries by Professor Beale for which the S.T.C. seems to offer no equivalent. Against these there is nothing which can be set with any certainty, since in no. 9279a, an edition of *Magna Carta* attributed to 1566, the date seems to be an error for 1556, and no. 9288, an undated 'Meddelton' edition in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, though the entry is based on one in Mr. Duff's catalogue (*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys*. Pt. 2. Sidgwick & Jackson, 1914), is probably only a section of no. 9287. When the S.T.C. comes to be revised I hope that Professor Beale may help with the law-books. Meanwhile the general agreement is satisfactory, and students of legal antiquities are to be congratulated on being put in possession of this handsomely printed special catalogue of the editions printed to the end of the sixteenth century. So good a piece of work is a very appropriate acknowledgement by Harvard of the responsibilities it incurred when it carried off George Dunn's law collection *en bloc*, a few days before it was to be sold at Sotheby's.

A. W. P.

*Leiderschnittbände des XIV. Jahrhunderts.* Gesammelt und herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. MARTIN BOLLERT. Mit 36 Lichtdrucktafeln. pp. 77. Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1925. 30 x 24 cm.

CUT leather bindings are not unknown in this country. The British Museum possesses several examples, and both the Manuscripts and the Printed Books departments exhibit good

specimens. So far as I am aware, however, all are of relatively late date: they belong to the second half of the fifteenth century. In bringing together descriptions and illustrations of twenty cut leather bindings which may well be and for the most part certainly are of the fourteenth century, Professor Bollert throws new light on an obscure chapter in the history of bookbinding. The descriptions are complete and methodical; the illustrations, though always reduced from their originals, are of good size, and the technical difficulties in making them clear have been well overcome. It may be remarked in passing that—judging of course from the photographs only—plates 4 and 5 appear to represent a stamped rather than a cut binding; at least the technique here differs from that of all the other examples shown.

Cut leather bindings have a short history. They date, according to Professor Bollert, from the second third of the fourteenth to the end of the fifteenth century: his own book, therefore, deals with the incunabula of the art, which occupy a period of the fourteenth century corresponding to that occupied by the incunabula of the art of printing in the fifteenth century. The fourteenth-century examples confirm the current opinion that cut leather bindings are entirely a Germanic product: they originate from various places in the old German Empire, in which Professor Bollert recognizes four principal centres of production: Austria, Bohemia, the Rhineland, and North Germany (with Hildesheim as focus).

Besides being restricted to a short period and a particular country, cut leather bindings have a further limitation: their somewhat broad treatment requires a large surface, and they are consequently found only on large books. By far the smallest of the fourteenth-century examples is 23 cm. high; the largest is 50 cm.; while the average height is 35 cm., or 5 cm. higher than Professor Bollert's own book, itself a large

one. The size of the books is reflected in their contents, which are either religious or legal. A noteworthy point is that one-third of the books are Jewish.

The bringing together of a number of these bindings calls attention to some of their general characteristics. The leather is always dark—dark-brown to black. The surface is usually divided up geometrically, medallions being frequently used in groups. The main surfaces are decorated with plant or animal forms, the latter often fantastic or grotesque. Rarely a human figure or plant form occupies the whole undivided surface. A finely sketched figure of Albertus Magnus on one binding is interesting both for its own sake, and because it illustrates the uncertainty as to the dates of bindings on manuscripts in general. The binding in question has been attributed by one authority to 'about 1300'; Professor Bollert himself, in spite of the title of his book, prefers to regard it as fifteenth-century work. All decorative forms are cut in the flat, there being no attempt at relief by embossing. Stamps are rarely used, except in the case of the background, which is generally covered with circles or dots, usually impressed by a punch, thus setting off the outlines of the cut forms. To save time, 'a punch which impressed several dots at a time'—usually nine—was often used. Professor Bollert's circumlocutions for this, the ordinary 'matting punch' common to various crafts, and part of the outfit of every craftsman, suggest that he is not a technical expert: the German language must possess a technical term corresponding to our own. It is possible to find some traces of development in these bindings, from crudeness to elegance, from simple outline to shaded forms. It would be dangerous, however, to attempt a chronological arrangement on these lines. Bookbinding was widespread and well developed even in the fourteenth century, and cut leather bindings merely represent the application of a special technical process to an existing art. In the circumstances, differences in

quality of design and workmanship may easily reflect nothing more than the varying ability of different craftsmen, irrespective of date.

The development of the art of printing, which by the end of the fifteenth century had much reduced the size of books, clearly settled the fate of cut leather bindings. These are now of antiquarian interest, and have little suggestive for the modern binder or decorator. Even if it were possible to recapture their spirit, after a long and superior tradition of stamping and gilding, they can hardly be used for modern books. They need large surfaces of thick, well-tanned leather. To cut the surface of modern leathers is to court disaster.

Professor Bollert recognizes that his collection of examples is probably not complete, and he appeals to librarians and collectors to increase the number if possible. The appeal is repeated here in the hope that it may bring to light any early examples of cut leather bindings existing in this country.

H. T.

*Handbuch der Inkunabelkunde.* Von KONRAD HAEBLER. Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1925. Pp. 187.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in.

DR. HAEBLER's book is divided into two main parts. The first, with the general title 'die Wissenschaft', sketches the development of bibliographical interest in incunabula and the methods and aims of the principal workers in that field. The second, which is of course much more extensive, deals with 'das Buch' and discusses in some thirty brief sections the paper, type, and make-up of early books and the practice and methods of their printers.

The volume is founded on a course of lectures originally delivered to young library workers at the Royal Library in Berlin, and is thus primarily intended for those who are to some extent specialists. Nevertheless, and quite apart from such general matter as it contains (e.g. in the concluding section

on incunabula as literature), its demonstration of the great number of different aspects from which the output of a single typographical period may be regarded may well prove of interest to bibliographers of all shades. Exact bibliographical methods have in the past been applied far more systematically to incunabula than to any other class of book, and the mode of practice evolved from them is really indispensable to a proper appreciation of the generic problems with which bibliography has to deal, even though some of the actual processes to which early books are subjected by their cataloguers—type-comparison for instance—cease to serve any useful purpose in connexion with the study of later printing. Dr. Haebler's compendium is the only guide to the subject as a whole in existence, and within its limits could scarcely be bettered. It has the expertise of a lifetime behind it, and its language is simple and to the point. To those brought into professional contact with incunabula, and especially to librarians, it will be more particularly valuable. Every question that can possibly be asked of the student seems to have found consideration and to be illustrated from actual examples. Apart from slips and misprints, the latter perhaps unduly frequent, there is very little to which exception can be taken. That the printed signatures occasionally found very far below the type-page were in all cases stamped in by hand after printing off is perhaps not to be assumed without question (p. 51); and it was to Cracow and not to Graz that Hochfeder transported a type first used by G. Zainer at Augsburg (p. 86). V. S.

*Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* (Samuel Halkett and John Laing). New and enlarged edition by Dr. JAMES KENNEDY, W. H. SMITH, and A. F. JOHNSON. London: Oliver & Boyd, 1926. Vol. 1, A-C, pp. xxviii, 472. Vol. 2, D-G, pp. iv, 424. Price £1 16s. each.

Tools for the librarian and bibliographer, such as these volumes, are not thrilling to read. They are none the less

essential to every big library, and they represent many years of patient labour.

The original Halkett and Laing was the standard work on the subject for about forty years, and has been the foundation of all other English works on anonymous and pseudonymous literature. Stonehill and Block's *Anonyma and Pseudonyma*, which appeared last year in four volumes, itself representing a lifetime of arduous labour, unfortunately duplicates the work at present under review. The new Halkett and Laing will, however, remain the standard work on the subject, now that it has been enlarged and brought up to date. Errors in a work of this size there must be, but one may rest assured that they are the minimum possible.

The original Halkett and Laing, in four volumes, first began to appear in 1882, though the idea of such a book had been in the air for many years. The history of the work is therefore a long one: it has also been a troublous one, for its two original editors both died without seeing the results of their labours in print, and the same was the case with Dr. Kennedy, whose name now appears third on the title-page. The original edition owed its ultimate appearance to Miss Catharine Laing, Dr. Laing's daughter, while the present edition is indebted in a similar way to Messrs. W. A. Smith and A. F. Johnson of the British Museum. Our obligation to these two gentlemen is very great, for the task of digesting, and verifying wherever possible, the mass of slips left by Dr. Kennedy was no light one. To Dr. Kennedy himself praise is especially due for his courage in keeping pace with the collecting of material, despite the fact that the prospects of publication were distant.

The arrangement followed in the new edition is practically the same as in the original. The imprint and date have, however, been transferred to the end of the line, where they now catch the eye. The spacing between the entries has been reduced, and the longer entries have been cut down, yet in

spite of this A-C (i. e. Vol. 1 of the new edition) occupies 472 pages as against 278 in the old edition. There are about three times as many entries as before, but it is expected that the whole work may be completed in seven or eight volumes.

The 'notes on anonymity and pseudonymity' which precede the dictionary itself are most interesting reading. They afford information on the reasons for the suppression of the author's name and give many examples, which besides showing the extraordinary variety of pseudonyms which have been employed during the history of the printed book, also illustrate the difficulties with which the compilers have had to contend. The motives ascribed are diffidence, fear of consequences, and shame. To these might well be added 'idiosyncrasy'. The works under consideration are also divided into five categories according to the method of concealing the author's name. The rearrangement of initials and other attempts to conceal identity from the general public show great ingenuity and are often as fascinating as the cross-word puzzle. Sometimes Christian names only (such as 'Anthony Hope') are used. Sometimes a woman will write under a male pseudonym, as was the case with George Eliot: the opposite is much more uncommon. Sometimes a combined production will show a number of letters which represent the initials of all: for instance, five divines in this way produced the pseudonym 'Smectymnuus'. Occasionally the successful use of a pseudonym has induced other writers to use it also: such was the case with the name 'Peter Parley'. The final and most complicated example given (of the date 1658) is 'R.D.C.D.V.B.D.N.', which stands for the initials, in reversed order, of 'Nicolas De Bonnefons, Valet De Chambre Du Roi'.

WILFRID BONSER.